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Vol. 43 Autumn Number, 1954 No. 2

HONORARY FRIEND
Charles Lamb and the Quakers

By Warren Beck*

He was a spindle-legged little man and he stammered. His cranium, though, was nobly shaped, and it hatched some of the pleasantest fancies and most just and genial perceptions ever bequeathed to literature. From youth to retirement he labored as a clerk — until, he said, the wood of the desk had grown into his soul. But that was a characteristic verbal audacity for its own sake. No soul was ever less wooden, none more tempered year by year to a finer resilience. This was achieved by a quiet and cheerful courage; he bore severe adversity without taking any scar of bitterness.

A measure of his virtue was that at the verge of manhood, though in love, he gave up marriage, fearing hereditary insanity; and then when soon thereafter his elder sister succumbed temporarily to the family taint and fatally stabbed their mother, he assumed lifelong responsibility for Mary rather than see her committed to an asylum. Years later, in "Dream Children," he was to write pensively of the wife and offspring he might have had; yet

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except for his sister's frequent lapses into mental illness and their dread of its recurrence their life together was companionable and not without happiness, as may be seen in "Old China," with the middle-aged man and his still older Cousin Bridget, so-called, conversing of earlier poverty and its enhanced appreciation of such small luxuries as a folio Beaumont and Fletcher or a pair of one-shilling gallery seats at the theatre.

These are but two of more than three-score essays, first published in magazines under a pen name and then gathered into those collections (*Elia,* 1823, and *Last Essays of Elia,* 1833) of which Landor prophesied that the world would "never again see two such delightful volumes." However, Charles Lamb himself said he wrote not for the age but for antiquity. Behind that whimsical statement lies a main fact. Lamb had helped himself transcend his early manhood's frustrations, his prolonged domestic anxieties, and the monotonies of office work by turning to books, especially those of the Elizabethans and seventeenth-century Englishmen. Their intense dramatic works fed his starved sense of life, their humors gratified his persistent romantic individualism, and their opulently imaginative language beguiled him. With their sonorous voices echoing in his ear and with some infusion of their quaintly compounded moods — humanely speculative and liberally eccentric — he began in the ripeness of middle life to produce his famous essays. Yet under such a weight of antiquarian influence Lamb is never weakly imitative or derivative. His friend Hazlitt, the great familiar stylist and critic of styles, allowed Elia his "obsolete" way of writing because he was "imbued with the spirit" of it. The least pretentious of fellows, Lamb nevertheless followed his bent with the assurance of the gifted, to become one of the most personally immediate and charmingly spontaneous of essayists. He achieved a humorous reflectiveness and an irony not just free from malice but indeed benign. He perfected an art which shares tête-à-tête the zest of what he called "excellent absurdities." He is the truly facetious man; every plane of his mind flashes with apt perception. The page seems to have been smiled over by the writer, and something of that bland warmth lingers.

His comment on old sundials, as he remembered them from his childhood, is typical in its quiet delight and imaginative diction:

> What an antique air had the now almost effaced sundials, with their moral inscriptions, seeming coevals with that Time which they measured, and to take their revelations of its flight immediately from heaven, holding correspondence with the fountain of light! . . . What a dead thing is a clock, with its ponderous embowelments of lead and brass, its pert or solemn dulness of communication, compared with the simple altar-like structure, and silent heart-language of the old dial!

There is not only such nostalgic sentiment in Lamb, but also much sound sense, springing out of his alertness and his native honesty. Thus he questions whether we are "able with any grace to say grace" when appetite is gluttonous; he declares it "a confusion of purpose to mutter out praises from a mouth that waters." More characteristic than such censoriousness, though, is his proceeding fancifully to ask why we have no prayers "for books, those spiritual repasts — a grace before Milton — a grace before Shakespeare — a devotional exercise proper to be said before reading the Fairy Queen?" Neither does literary antiquarianism dominate Lamb, however; he has too much relish for people around him, especially those he describes as "odd fish." There was Lamb's irresponsible friend Fenwick, figuring in the essays as Ralph Bigod, the great inveterate borrower — perennial, says Elia, were the streams which fed his fisc. There was Coleridge as Lamb knew him, both as youthful prodigy and as imperious book-borrower, "matchless in his depredations." And George Dyer, who in pedantic absent-mindedness walked into the river; and Sarah Battle, prototype of all briskly serious card players; and Jem White, who annually tendered a ceremonious feast to London chimney-sweepers; and more generically but also more personally, the convalescent, regal in the sick-bed, dead to the world's business, changing sides oftener than a politician, and "his own sympathizer," feeling that "none can so well perform that office for him."

Lamb took more than one glance at the Quakers, too, but not in his usual way, as a fancier of idiosyncrasy. They seem to have touched his troubled life with a real and recurrent inspiration. However, to mention Charles Lamb and the Quakers may suggest primarily an antithesis. He dressed plainly, Hood and Hunt both tell us, but in many other ways he was, as he himself admitted, far from Quakerish. He was somewhat worldly, indulgently sensuous rather than ascetic, an ardent play-goer, more often frivolous than

grave, at times immoderate in his use of tobacco and wine, and a ready gourmet, most notably of roast pig. He was an inveterate jester, and one given to "verbal equivocations," though only for the fun of it. Macready's diary notes an "odd saying" of his near the end of his life, that "the last breath he drew in he wished might be through a pipe and exhaled in a pun." He delighted in minor vagaries, as when he wrote to Joseph Hume, "I always spell plumb-pudding with a b, p-l-u-m-b — I think it reads fatter and more suetty." While his caprices pop up in a variety of contexts, the playfulness is usually at least half literary. A characteristic invitation to one of his famous Wednesday evening at-homes alliteratively promised "cards and cold mutton, 8 to 9; gin and jokes, 9:30 to 12."

However, this innocently humorous man was on several occasions charged with being a scandal to true believers. The often ferocious Gifford, in the *Quarterly Review,* inordinately attacked him early in his career (December, 1811) alleging "the blasphemies of a maniac" in Lamb's notes on Elizabethan dramatists, where with due reservation Lamb had compared the fate of one of Ford's characters to a crucifixion. A few years later (1819) Leigh Hunt wrote in the *Examiner* that "it is difficult from his works to collect whether Mr. Lamb is a professed Christian or not." This perhaps is true enough, under the strictest definition, for Lamb called himself Unitarian, or more colloquially, a one-Goddite; but at most Hunt's comment indicates Lamb's omitting from his casual writings any specific discussion of theological matters, which he always steered clear of, with that best grace of the relative agnostic, intellectual modesty in the face of mysteries. This did not always spare him, though, for in the *Quarterly Review* in 1823 Southey, to his great regret thereafter, carelessly alluded to Lamb's first volume of essays as wanting "sounder religious feeling."

Apparently a point at issue here was Lamb's confession, in the essay "New Year's Eve," that he was loath to leave this life for a life to come.

> I am not content [he wrote] to pass away "like a weaver's shuttle." Those metaphors solace me not, nor sweeten the unpalatable draught of mortality. . . . I am in love with this green earth; the face of town and country, the unspeakable rural solitudes, and the sweet security of streets. . . . Sun, and sky, and breeze, and solitary walks, and summer holidays, and the green-

> ness of fields, and the delicious juices of meats and fishes, and society, and the cheerful glass, and candlelight, and fire-side conversations, and innocent vanities, and jests, and *irony itself* — do these things go out with life? . . . And you, my midnight darlings, my Folios! must I part with the intense delight of having you (huge armfuls) in my embraces?

While that is certainly as worldly as can be, perhaps two things can be said in its extenuation: what marks off this passage from many a more conventional utterance on the subject is its candor; and furthermore, Lamb's joy in the gift of life was in the nature of piety, being the opposite of cynicism and that worst offense, despair, to which this sorely-tried man refused to let himself descend. Instead he was always thankfully zestful, and even his lightest jests are often a kind of juggling before the altar.

Still, he was no Quaker, and not only his worldliness set him off from the Society of Friends, for besides, he never completely achieved that difficult and lovely virtue, the Quaker day-to-day serenity. Though he was almost superhumanly patient and kind—Thackeray spoke of him as St. Charles, and Coleridge, in a poem, repeatedly called him gentle-hearted—he was subject to severe alternations of feeling. A trace of his unresolved tension is seen in his letter imploring Coleridge not to make him ridiculous by such a term, which he calls fit only for "some green-sick sonneteer." His next letter recurs to it but in lighter tone—"please to blot out '*gentle-hearted*' and substitute: drunken dog, ragged-head, seld-shaven, odd-eyed, stuttering, or any other epithet. . . ." It was Lamb's way thus to shrug off anxieties and irritations with a wry humor. That he generally found compensation in nothing worse than whimsies might be counted to his credit. His wit was a gift, no doubt, but his extreme addiction to it may also have been by design. In his twenty-sixth year, while he was still adjusting to the severe responsibility he had volunteered to bear, he wrote his friend Manning of a bygone kindred spirit: "Burton was a man often assailed by deepest melancholy, and at other times given to laughing and jesting, as is the way with melancholy men." This Burton is the famous anatomist of melancholy, one of that company of idiosyncratic prose writers whom Lamb pored over in seventeenth-century folio editions; therein too he was no Quaker, however, for antiquarian-aesthetic escapism is after all only another

form of worldliness, and perhaps especially so when stimulated by melancholy and issuing in quaint humor.

Lamb did observe the Quakers respectfully and admiringly, though, and he read the great Quaker apologists with something like fervor, he wrote of the Quakers with the freedom of an intimate and affectionate understanding, he took a minor Quaker poet to be his esteemed correspondent, and he did hold throughout life to the concepts of Quakerism as a point of reference, a discipline beyond that of his own achievement, but one which he often cites with a truly Friendly spirit and conviction. Such a connection does credit both to Lamb itself and to the persuasion of Friends, not only English but American.

Quakerism's first decisive impact upon Charles Lamb came, rightly enough, through books. In February, 1797, a bare five months after his mother's tragic death, Lamb writes Coleridge that his recent visitor Charles Lloyd (the son of a Quaker banker of Birmingham) has kindly left him for a keepsake John Woolman, from whom Lamb sends Coleridge this extract: "Small treasure to a resigned mind is sufficient. How happy it is to be content with a little, to live in humility and feel that in us which breathes out this language — Abba! Father!" Lamb frequently praised Woolman; one of his latest letters recommends Walton's *Compleat Angler* with a telling comparison — "a book you should read; such sweet religion in it — next to Woolman's." Indeed, Lloyd's volume of Woolman seems to have drawn Lamb's serious attention to Quakerism, for a week after quoting the book to Coleridge, he says, in his next letter, "I have had thoughts of turning Quaker, and . . . am just beginning to read a most capital book, good thoughts in good language, William Penn's 'No Cross, No Crown'; I like it immensely." But, Lamb goes on, he had attended a Quakers' meeting with less favorable impression, seeing a man there "under all the agitations and workings of a fanatic. . . . This cured me of Quakerism; I love it in the books of Penn and Woolman, but I detest the vanity of a man thinking he speaks by the Spirit, when what he says an ordinary man might say without all that quaking and trembling."

It was indeed unfortunate that Lamb ran upon such an unrepresentative instance so early in his acquaintance with the Quakers; happily, further experience gave better perspective, and

twenty-four years later he refers to this same "fanatic" only briefly and more generously, in his famous essay, "A Quaker's Meeting." "I saw him shake all over with the spirit — I dare not say, of delusion," he writes, and now he can smile at the fellow's remorseful confession that he "had been a wit in his youth," for, says Lamb, "His brow would have scared away the Levities."

In the main this essay, treating of Quakers in general, is quite laudatory and warmly responsive to what has touched Lamb deeply and no doubt influentially. The opening passages are typical in style, first a series of ingenious descriptive clauses multiplied in sheer prodigality through two paragraphs:

> Reader, would'st thou know what true peace and quiet mean; would'st thou find a refuge from the noises and clamours of the multitude; would'st thou enjoy at once solitude and society; would'st thou possess the depth of thine own spirit in stillness, without being shut out from the consolatory faces of thy species . . . ? Retire with me into a Quaker's meeting.

Then follows a rhetorically balanced sentence, Biblical in flavor:

> For a man to refrain even from good words, and to hold his peace, it is commendable; but for a multitude, it is great mastery.

Even here Lamb's irrepressible humor intrudes too, for having asked "What is the stillness of the desert compared with this place?" he adds, "what the uncommunicating muteness of fishes?" and then, having praised the "perfect solitude" obtainable in crowds but nowhere to be found "so absolutely as in a Quaker's Meeting," he continues, "Those first hermits did understand this principle, when they retired into Egyptian solitudes, not singly but in shoals, to enjoy one another's want of conversation." As usual though, Lamb's playfulness is affectionate, and here in particular it is the counterpart of a deep appreciation. Thus, even in deploying five fanciful synonyms for the concept of an assembly, he acknowledges the serious claim upon him of the wise Quaker observance:

> Nothing-plotting, nought-caballing, unmischievous synod! convocation without intrigue! parliament without debate! what a lesson dost thou read to council, and to consistory! — if my pen treat of you lightly — as haply it will wander — yet my spirit hath gravely felt the wisdom of your custom, when sitting among you in deepest peace. . . .

Lamb allows himself a distinct bias in the next passage, recommending Sewel's *History of the Quakers* as "far more edifying and

affecting than anything you will read of Wesley and his colleagues," and he admonishes his readers in the *London Magazine* to "get the writings of John Woolman by heart, and love the early Quakers." It was their "quiet . . . and the disposition to unanimity, and the absence of . . . fierce controversial workings" that he admired. Having alluded briefly to the exceptional instance of that member he had seen "shake all over" in "unutterable . . . strivings," he points out that "more frequently the Meeting is broken up without a word having been spoken. But the mind has been fed. You go away with a sermon not made with hands." The essay then closes with a glance at the Quaker garb, in drastic similes of a herd of cattle, lilies, and angels, which nevertheless the delicacy of his fancy, his innate taste, and his genial sincerity suffice to carry off:

> Their garb and stillness conjoined, present an uniformity, tranquil and herd-like — as in the pasture — "forty feeding like one." The very garments of a Quaker seem incapable of receiving a soil; and cleanliness in them to be something more than the absence of its contrary. Every Quakeress is a lily; and when they come up in bands to their Whitsun-conferences, whitening the easterly streets of the metropolis, from all parts of the United Kingdom, they show like troops of the Shining Ones.

This is Lamb's only essay devoted entirely to the Quakers, but they enter prominently into his piece "Imperfect Sympathies," published four months later. It is one of Lamb's most playful discourses, yet it has a spine of serious opinion, to the effect that he "cannot *like* all people alike." He is most amusing, and devastatingly ironic, on the Scotch; he says his own intellect, "suggestive rather than comprehensive," is imperfect compared with the absoluteness of the true Caledonian, upon whom "the twilight of dubiety never falls," and under whose rigorous view metaphor cannot be ventured. As for Jews, he wants them to be themselves and not come half-way over. "I like fish or flesh," he says. "A moderate Jew is a more confounding piece of anomaly than a wet Quaker." Concerning the Quakers directly, he begins with a tribute:

> I love Quaker ways, and Quaker worship. I venerate the Quaker principles. It does me good for the rest of the day when I meet any of their people.

Then he defines his imperfect sympathy with them in terms of his own unworthiness:

> I am all over-sophisticated — with humours, fancies, craving hourly sympathy. I must have books, pictures, theatres, chitchat, scandal, jokes, ambiguities, and a thousand whim-whams, which their simpler taste can do without. I should starve at their primitive banquet.

At this point, significantly, Lamb is drawn from the subject of his imperfect sympathies, to devote the rest of the essay to Quakers in their own right. He seriously defends the Quaker way of answering indirectly, attributing it to their constant concern for veracity; the Quaker, excused from swearing to tell the truth, does not allow himself the distinction some men make between what they say under oath and at other times. Lamb then closes more lightly with an anecdote illustrating Quaker composure; three traveling Quakers mildly decline to pay a scheming landlady double for their tea, and pocketing their duly proffered money when she refused it, they get back into the stagecoach unperturbed, with Elia after them, thinking he "could not do better than follow the example of such grave and warrantable persons." Lamb said in a letter that no such thing happened to him, but having heard the story told, he had given it exactly as he remembered it. However, this humorist touched nothing that he did not embellish, and the flavor of the episode is distinctly Elian. Admiration for Quakers, though, is the fabric which bears all that playful embroidery.

Such playfulness often needs explaining to more consistently serious persons, and one such, it seems, was Bernard Barton, the minor Quaker poet, whom Lamb had to assure that the anecdote was not intended to make any "inference" against Quaker honesty, "but only in favour of their surprising coolness." Lamb's earlier letter to Barton had asserted he had done his "little best in the 'Imperfect Sympathies' to vindicate" Quakers of the charge of speaking equivocally; Lamb also explained that Barton should not have taken seriously his jests, at their first meeting, about a Quaker's being a poet. "One of my levities, which you are not so used to as my older friends," says Lamb, in the friendliest of notes, thus beginning a correspondence which was to extend over a decade and elicit half a hundred of Lamb's best letters.

It was a curious connection. Lamb, at forty-seven, had come into the fullness of his literary performance and position; Barton, then thirty-eight, was a Suffolk bank clerk and literary enthusiast,

whose industrious rhyming, that ran by this time to four volumes, had got him known as "the Quaker poet." Lamb's letters indirectly reveal Barton's persistence in asking not only for replies but for aid in bringing his work to the attention of publishers. Lamb showed some fellow-feeling for a literary aspirant locked in a business office; however, he advises Barton not to cut loose from his ledgers and depend solely on his verse. Ten years earlier Barton had solicited Byron's advice on the same question and had got the same answer. No one who now reads Barton's poetry can doubt that Byron and Lamb were right; as the ordinarily mild A. C. Benson said, it is "only remarkable for its firm grasp of the obvious," and Fitzgerald, Barton's friendly correspondent and finally his son-in-law, called the poetry "a kind of elder Nursery rhymes." Lamb praised Barton but moderately, finding a new volume "in no ways inferior to former lucubrations"; he said of another, "you have completely succeeded in what you intended to do. What is poetry may be disputed. These are poetry to me at least," and something like that "at least" was about as much as Barton ever got out of Lamb, except for pointed criticism of extravagances.

But Barton did literature one great service, by saving Lamb's priceless letters to him. More particularly, being Lamb's only regular correspondent among the Quakers, Barton brought him out on Quakerism. Here too Lamb is sometimes serious, sometimes facetious. Now and then he chides his younger friend half humorously for inconsistent traits and practices — the "unplain, un-Quakerish" ostentation of a proposed title-page motto for one of Barton's numerous volumes, or Barton's fretting at his daily lot, or his hypochondria. Forget your liver, Lamb advises him, "acknowledge no mechanism not visible . . . and avoid tampering with hard terms of art — viscosity, schirossity, and those bugbears, by which simple patients are scared into their grave. . . . It is the mind, good B.B., and not the limbs, that taints by long sitting. Think of the patience of taylors — think how long the Chancellor sits — think of the Brooding Hen." In his honest way Lamb even ventures to question some of Barton's writings on religious themes, not objecting to Barton's faith, but to the lugging in of a fashionable sentimentality. "If there be a cavil," Lamb writes of one volume, "it is that topics of religious consolation, however beautiful, are repeated till a sort of triteness attends them. It seems as if you were forever

losing friends' children by death, and reminding their parents of the Resurrection. Do children die so often, and so good, in your parts?" Evidently the poet protested, for Lamb then argued seriously that Barton was skirting the dogma of predestination, but after remarking that "it is all a mystery," he tells Barton to follow his own conscience and dismiss Lamb's opinions as "the whimsies of a half-baked notionist." Lamb, seldom severe in argument, always bowed out in some such way as this from any possible controversy on doctrinal matters.

Sometimes, though, Lamb was completely whimsical with Barton, in whole letters as good as the essays, and this also Barton would sometimes take too seriously. Writing of having a bad cold, Lamb says he has succumbed to "an oyster-like insensibility," he is "flatter than a denial or a pancake."

> My hand writes, not I, from habit, as chickens run about a little when their heads are off . . . yet I do all I can to cure it, I try wine, and spirits, and smoking, and snuff in unsparing quantities, but they all seem to make me worse. . . . I sleep in a damp room, but it does me no good; I come home late o' nights, but do not find any visible amendment.

Then two weeks later Lamb is answering Barton apologetically, calling his former letter "peevish," since Barton had taken it "in too serious a light." "I will bridle my pen another time. . . . The more I think the more I am vexed at having puzzled you with that letter, but . . . I felt in your debt, and sat down waywardly to pay you in bad money." If that letter is bad money, however, so are such essays as "Poor Relations" or "A Chapter on Ears," which during more than a century have been judged true coinage. Lamb's anxious apologies for this splurge of humor not only show his conciliatory nature but hint his special deference to the Quaker, since neither as literary man nor as kindred spirit could Barton have made quite so close a claim upon him.

Lamb's sentiment for Quakerism remained always the firm basis for their sustained contact. Though we may sense deficiencies in Barton (whom Fitzgerald called "a good-natured and benevolent person," but with "a good deal of pride and caution—a great many contradictions of character"), it seems Lamb considered him a true Friend, in whose verse he said he found a "plain Quakerish beauty." A special approach is seen in his first note to Barton: "In

feelings and matters not dogmatical I hope I am half a Quaker." In the third letter Lamb is asking where he can pick up a copy of Fox's *Journal.* Thereupon a first edition was lent him by a John Shewell, at the request of Samuel Alexander, probably one of the Quaker bankers Barton worked for, so apparently Barton had instigated the loan, since it was he who forwarded the book. That copy, with a business-like record of the transaction and a grateful endorsement by Lamb, is now in the possession of the Society of Friends. In return Lamb offered the Woodbridge Quakers his copy, just purchased and eagerly read, of Fox's "Doctrinals" and he tells Barton he has gone through the 1090 pages "without feeling it a loss of time. . . . I admire how consistent it is . . . I think his by far the best Exposition of Xtianity, & the Quakers the only *Professors.*" With Barton Lamb not only felt free to discuss the admirable older Quaker writers; he often suggested to Barton literary subjects suitable for a Quaker man of letters. One such was "a poetical Account of your old Worthies . . . from Fox to Woolman." "It would be better," he adds characteristically, "than a series of Sonnets on 'Eminent Bankers.' " Another project Lamb proposed was "a pretty little manual of Quaker language," gathered out of Fox. "How I like the Quaker phrases," Lamb exclaims, ". . . though I think they were hardly completed till Woolman." Toward the end of his life Lamb is still urging Barton to write of his faith: "Could you not write something on Quakerism—for Quakers to read—but nominally addressed to non-Quakers? explaining your dogmas—waiting on the Spirit—by the analogy of human calmness and patient waiting on the judgment?" Then Lamb seems to realize he is minimizing the religion of the Friends by suggesting its equation with humanistic virtue, for he continues confusedly and breaks off apologetically: "I scarcely know what I mean, but to make Non Quakers reconciled to your doctrines, by showing something like them in mere human operations—but I hardly understand myself, so let it pass."

Upon receiving a volume of poems which Barton had dedicated to the Bishop of Winchester, Lamb wrote more broadly and positively of the Quakers, claiming for them a polarity toward which Christian unification should move: "It does me good to see the Dedication to a Christian Bishop. I am for a Comprehension, as Divines call it, but so as that the Church shall go a good deal more than halfway over to the Silent Meeting house. I have ever

said that the Quakers are the only *Professors* of Christianity as I read it in the Evangiles." In the next sentence, however, Lamb is poking fun at Barton and his new book: "I say Professors—marry, as to practice, with their gaudy hot types and poetical vanities, they are much at one with the sinful." Despite some misunderstandings Lamb more than once took the liberty of making such innocent jests about his friend's Quakerism, as when Fauntleroy, a banker, was hanged for forgery, and Lamb wrote Barton:

> You are as yet upright. But you are a Banker, at least the next thing to it. I feel the delicacy of the subject: but cash must pass thro' your hands, sometimes to a great amount. If in an unguarded hour — but I will hope better. Consider the scandal it will bring to those of your persuasion. Thousands would go to see a Quaker hanged, that would be indifferent to the fate of a Presbyterian, or an Anabaptist.

Lamb's last letter to Barton is a wholly playful one, in Latin, with an atrociously punning riddle about Quakers, and a jest against Barton's literary elegancies, more than becomes a Quaker—"supra quod TREMULO deceat."

While we know a great deal more of Lamb's response to Quakerism, and of Lamb himself, than if Bernard Barton had never solicited his correspondence and cherished his letters, Lamb's mention of the Quakers goes beyond those letters, and it precedes the Elian essays. In reviewing Wordsworth's *Excursion* in 1814, almost six years before Elia's first appearance and almost eight years before his first meeting with Barton, Lamb twice uses the word Quakerism, not in a doctrinal sense but to describe by analogy what is profoundly meditative, "an internal principle of lofty consciousness." Addressing a paper to a fellow Unitarian who has been married in the Church of England but has placed in the parish register a customary protest against the required forms, Lamb charges a weak inconsistency and adds that if the Quakers have greater liberty, "they have earned it."

> The Quaker character [he goes on] was hardened in the fires of persecution in the seventeenth century. . . . They have since endured a century or so of scoffs, contempts; they have been a bye-word, and a nay-word; they have stood unmoved. . . . Had the early Quakers consented to take oaths, leaving a Protest with the clerk of the court against them with the same breath with which they had taken them, do you in your conscience think that they would have been indulged at this day in their exclusive privilege of Affirming?

Thus Lamb used the Quaker as an example of right conduct, against which to measure less worthy men. Similarly in Elia's declaration against the hypocrisy of conventional prayers before feasting he cites what he sees as an ideal:

> The Quakers who go about their business, of every description, with more calmness than we, have more title to the use of these benedictory prefaces. I have always admired their silent grace, and the more because I have observed their applications to the meat and drink following to be less passionate and sensual than ours.

Not even Elia's most sustained passages concerning Quakers show more regard, however, than some of Lamb's slightest references. The constant place of these people in his affection and admiration is implied, for instance, by an item in his rhapsodic enumeration (to Manning) of "the furniture of my world" — London's shops, street sounds, various pedestrians, old Inns of Court, and also "beautiful Quakers of Pentonville." Lamb's more serious conception of Quaker qualities comes out quaintly in his poem for Lucy Barton's autograph book; he plays on the Latin root of the word album, "Little Book! surnam'd of White," and proceeds with a kind of double pun to epitomize the Quaker attribute of candor:

> Riddles dark, perplexing sense;
> Darker meanings of offense;
> What but *shades*, be banish'd hence.
> Whitest Thoughts, in whitest dress —
> Candid Meanings — best express
> Mind of quiet Quakeress.

Lamb's Catholic friend, the musician Vincent Novello, said Lamb pretended to dote on Quakers. It was more than pretense, and it was other than doting, for Lamb's esteem was always balanced by a friendly judiciousness. He freely declared to Barton not only what he found unQuakerish in his friend's poems but what he considered fanatical in Fox and Nayler. The judiciousness quite properly cut both ways, too, and when his essays were rejected by the Woodbridge book club, Lamb wrote Barton, "I think as Quakers they did right." Such respect for conscientious self-determination in matters of principle is quite characteristic of Lamb, and therein he must have felt himself more at one with the Quakers than if they had merely adopted Elia.

Describing Lamb's bookshelves, Leigh Hunt wrote that "there the lion, Martin Luther, lies down with the Quaker lamb, Sewel." The Luther was no doubt his *Table Talk* (the "Luster's Tables" Lamb's maid Betty reported Coleridge had borrowed) and the more lamb-like work was William Sewel's *History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers* (1722), which Lamb called a "great book." Perhaps nothing better implies what he admired in Quakerism than its anecdote he pointed out to Hunt, of the mate Lurting on a Quaker vessel, who, when Charles II reproached him for having released some captured Turks instead of bringing them to the king, made what Lamb calls a glorious answer—"I thought it better for them to be in their own country." In England's latter seventeenth century perhaps it took a Quaker to make such a round reply to the times' figurehead, whom Lamb with unQuakerly vehemence terms "that scoundrel." Lamb shared enough of the Quaker spirit, however, to salute Lurting across the gulf of a century and a half, and indeed Lamb echoes the mood of Lurting's "glorious" sentence in that good one of his own, not of such heroic dimensions, but no less humanely considerate and respectful of identities, when he wrote, "I think as Quakers they did right." This was no imperfect sympathy. It showed the sober and magnanimous virtue always complementary to Lamb's humor even at its maddest, as when he joined the audience in hissing his unsuccessful play.

Hazlitt called him "Elia, the grave and witty," Lamb's friend Talfourd spoke of his "peculiar union of kindness and whim," and Landor, almost his exact contemporary, who came once to visit the elderly Lamb, wrote of him,

> what youth was in thy years,
> What wisdom in thy levity.

This emphasis on paradox is appropriate to any characterization of the man. Such paradox need not imply conflict, however; its contrasting elements may exist in a wholesome equilibrium. While he indulged his idiosyncrasies, Lamb also achieved such wholesomeness. In his twenty-sixth year, being chided by Walter Wilson for not restraining his wit, even upon the most solemn subjects, Lamb wrote a fine letter of reconciliation containing these frank and telling words: "I will not pretend to more gravity or feeling than I at present possess. . . . I only want you to believe that I have *stamina*

of seriousness within me." Essentially that seems to join him to the Quakers, too, by a central earnestness and a corresponding avoidance of pretense. Indeed, the Quaker influence seems to have run deeper in him than can be defined. Concerning a visit on a Sunday, Lamb wrote the prospective guest (Louisa Holcroft) that "we devote that day to its proper duties, as you know, yet you are come of a religious stock, and to you it is not irksome to join in our simple forms, where the heart is all." In Lamb's whole existence, as in his works, the heart was all, and his informality rested in a candor that would never hide behind professions or affect a pose. To a degree the inspirations of Quakerism may be thanked, no doubt, for that poise of spirit Lamb finally achieved as a man, without which perhaps the lucidly and genially personal essays could not have come into being.

In one letter to Barton, praising a poem on a Quaker subject (probably the stanzas on Sewel's *History of the Quakers*) Lamb said, "I know not how Friends will relish it, but we out-lyers, Honorary Friends, like it very well." An Honorary Friend—it is a more august title than he himself would have expected or presumed to claim seriously, but perhaps it may be allowed him in an Elian sense, to indicate his standing if not as one of the Society at least within the radius of its mild but widely pervasive influence. He testifies to something rare and precious in Quakerism, which he never explicitly described but was always responsive to—its outgoing power, all the more persuasive because while firm in principle it is in no way authoritarian, censorious, or contentious. Even in confessing his differences from the Quakers, Elia had said that meeting one of them did him good for the rest of the day; actually, from his early encounter with their great apologists, the Quakers did Lamb good for all the rest of his life. They must have helped confirm in him the faith he had expressed to his closest friend just one month after his mother's death:

> Coleridge . . . I only wish to *remind* you of that humility which best becometh the Christian character . . . and in my poor mind 'tis best . . . to consider of Him, as our *heavenly* Father, and our best Friend, without indulging too bold conceptions of His nature. Let us learn to think humbly of ourselves, and rejoice in the appellation of 'dear children,' . . . seeking to know no further.

There is other evidence of Lamb's earnestness in a letter three months later:

> Coleridge, I have not one truly elevated character among my acquaintance: not one Christian: not one but undervalues Christianity. Singly what am I to do?

Single he was to remain, in more than one sense, unwed, lonely, and also unique, but within one month after that sad question he writes Coleridge that he is reading Woolman and Fox; he had found the Friends. Their light so shone that he was calmed by it, and edified too. It was no small benefit, which he richly repaid, and the whole transaction does honor to both parties. It stands a reminder to Quakers that they can never know how far or into what shadows their good example may throw its beam. Others may take from Lamb the suggestion that it is better to be "half a Quaker" than none at all, and that a real and lasting union among men may depend upon our all coming, as Lamb said, "a good deal more than halfway over to the Silent Meeting house" in spirit.

He writes one time to Barton that he shakes his brains "once —twice—and nothing comes up" and adds lightly, "George Fox recommends waiting on these occasions," but beneath this jesting is a profound fact, that Lamb did examine his mind with utmost honesty, aiming at integrity of belief and utterance. All his best writings have this at least about them that is Quakerly—they spring out of genuine meditation and are faithful to whatever insight has been granted him. Lamb is indeed more than half a Quaker in his waiting on the spirit, and in his acknowledgment that to wait is to receive, and to receive is to be called upon for a proportionate commitment, neither more nor less.

THE QUAKERS AND COMMUNITARIANISM

By T. D. Seymour Bassett*

From John Bellers to Darlington Hoopes, and from the industrialist Darbys to Herbert Hoover, Friends' social philosophy has spread across the whole span of the individualism-collectivism axis. One aspect of Quaker interest in socialism was the participation of Friends in the so-called utopian socialist communities in the United States during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. This participation was a minority experience in the Society as it was in American society at large; yet it was a natural if extreme development of essential Quaker ideas and testimonies. The same impulse is perhaps more alive among Friends today than at any time since 1850.

The world at large has labeled the Society of Friends by its unique doctrine of the Inner Light. To non-Friends this has meant extreme individualism, the logical development of Luther's insistence on the priesthood of all believers. Yet anyone acquainted with Barclay's *Apology* or with the Friends' traditional pattern of church government knows how strong the group aspect of Quakerism has been. Even when an individual has felt an inner drive to follow his leading against the collective wisdom of the Quaker tradition and the current ministers and elders, the custom has been to lay the personal concern before the meeting for business. Not until the meeting has united with the concern is way open to undertake it. The classic example is John Woolman's waiting before London Yearly Meeting until it approved of his traveling among English meetings in the ministry.

The roots of this corporate feeling and of modern socialism both lie in the medieval idea of the holy community. In theory the dictum of Marx, "from each according to his ability; to each according to his need," was the ruling idea during the first five centuries of European society. Paternalism, which gave weight to the able as defined in terms of property, prestige, and power, was balanced by a communalism which dictated that goods were held in trust

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for the use of the needy and ultimately for their salvation. The capitalists were the real radicals during the next half-millenium of Renaissance and Early Modern history. Against these economic individualists who increasingly ignored or renounced their responsibilities to society, the socialists fought a series of unsuccessful rear-guard actions. The Peasants Revolt of 1381, the dwindling communities of monks, nuns, and friars, some Anabaptists, the *Utopia* of Thomas More, and the few who followed the Digger, Gerard Winstanley, and other "radical" Puritans—these were only the more public and extreme manifestations of surviving communal conservatism.[1]

The whole Puritan movement, of whose left wing the Quakers were the only enduring element, developed not only in alliance with a rising middle class, but also—paradoxically—as a moderate protest against the fading of the vision of the holy community. Given the freedom of New England, the Puritans reconstructed a medieval theocracy at the same time they were laying the foundations for effective mercantile competition with their mercantilist mother country. Their village commons, their land system, and their method of compact colonization bore birthmarks from Mother Middle Ages.[2] Likewise the Quakers' Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania was on the one hand the highly successful capitalist development of an excellent piece of real estate, and on the other the expression of this same conservative medievalism.

For a century the close-knit, quietist Quakers developed their outward plantations in America. They withdrew from civil government, but continued the collectivism inherent in their church government. If gathered by the living Christ, the Head of the Church, either for worship or business, their potential divine-human society needed no artificial, self-conscious union in an overt collectivist experiment. The Wardleys of Manchester, England, who influenced Mother Ann Lee to found the new order of

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[1] See E. Harris Harbison, "Socialism in European History to 1848," in *Socialism and American Life,* ed. D. D. Egbert and Stow Persons (Princeton, N. J., 1952), I, 23-51. The essential ideas in this essay are taken from my chapter in that volume, "The Secular Utopian Socialists," I, 155-211, with permission of the editors.

[2] See Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* (New York, 1924), pp. 13-31.

Shakers, were among the very few Friends affected by the Great Awakening, but they became Quaker renegades.[3]

A different awakening, or enlightenment, did affect the Society of Friends, but the results went unnoticed until the Separation of 1828. For the heirs of the Puritans, Jonathan Edwards first sought to reconcile the theology of Calvin with the philosophy of Locke. Eventually, members of other religious groups, including the Quakers, absorbed something of the spirit of rationalism and of the utilitarianism and humanitarianism derived from it. Properly understood, the Quaker and Lockean psychologies are distinct, but during the eighteenth century the distinction blurred. Some Quakers, without realizing the difference, shifted from the doctrine that God as Holy Spirit can express His will through prepared and waiting believers to the Lockean idea that the mind is an unformed instrument which makes associations about impressions received from its environment. This assumption is at the base of Robert Owen's dictum that any character can be inculcated in a favorable environment.[4] Indeed, environmentalism is a fundamental assumption of modern secular socialists and fascists, who never answer the question, "Who will control the thought-controllers?" Religious socialists have believed that the God who made men to be members of one body both created the conditions which react upon those who do not obey Him and guides those who do.

The social context in which Quakers were first attracted into community experiments was one of revolutionary optimism, frontier utopianism, revivalism, and nascent industrialism in a country dominated by farmers and traders. Great things were expected of the liberal republic; indeed, the first fruits of humanitarian reform had been realized. Americans of every description were aware of the millennial opportunity to plant the good society as they saw it in the unoccupied public lands, and thus mold the destiny of a continent for a thousand years.[5] Revivalism, endemic in the backcountry from New England to the Carolinas since the Great Awak-

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[3] Edward D. Andrews, *The People Called Shakers* (New York, 1953), p. 5.

[4] Robert Owen, *A New View of Society* (New York, 1825), p. 16.

[5] A. E. Bestor, Jr., "Patent Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships Between Social Reform and Westward Expansion," *American Historical Review,* LVIII (April, 1953), 505-26.

ening, broke out in concentrated form at the opening of the nineteenth century. The Shakers carried several thousand, including Quakers, into their "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing."[6] The essentials of nineteenth-century industrialism—steam and water power, the conveyor, interchangeable parts, the factory system, and the rationale of utility—had already been introduced into the United States. No American communitarian, however, seemed to fear the evils of industry until toward 1850.

The merging of the holy community and natural rights ideas among the Quakers is illustrated in the New York Society for Promoting Communities, active in the decade after 1815. Cornelius Camden Blatchly, a Quaker medico who kept an apothecary shop on Greenwich Street, led this predominantly Quaker group.[7] They assumed that men in the state of nature were brothers, free and equal. Yet men could not have been happy in that state, for wealth, power, and wisdom are derived from society. It is a common wealth. Men would be bestial, worse than savages, without the social gifts. But Satan, sin, and self-love perverted these gifts into exclusive rights, "the cause of all social evil."[8]

What these communitarians considered social evils is instructive. Heading the list was "satanic" government itself, because founded on violence, least of all in the United States, most of all

[6] Thomas Brown, author of *An Account of the People Called Shakers* (Troy, N. Y., 1812), turned from Friends to Shakers, 1798-1805. Jane D. Knight wrote *Brief Narrative of Events Touching Various Reforms* (Albany, N. Y., 1880), which focuses on her conversion to Shakerism in 1826, after a Quaker upbringing. The Community of the Universal Friend was founded in Yates County, New York, by Jemima Wilkinson, a Rhode Island millennialist of Quaker background and leanings, converted by George Whitefield and New Light Baptists. Other pre-Owenite non-Quaker groups were the Dorrilites and Pilgrims of northern New England and the Rationalist Brethren of Oxford, Ohio (A. E. Bestor, Jr., *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 50n, 203, 236-37; D. M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* (New York, 1939), pp. 239-40).

[7] He is presumably the author of *An Essay on Commonwealths* (New York, 1822), published by the Society, which includes extracts from Robert Owen's *New View of Society* (pp. 44-50), John Melish's account of the Harmonists or Rappites (pp. 51-60), and the Society's constitution (pp. 3-4, 61-63).

[8] Ibid., p. 3; see also p. 25.

among militarist, imperialist kingdoms governing by fear.[9] War, slavery, the subjection of women, even office-and pension-hunting and litigation all derived from evil government. The state also perpetuated maldistribution of wealth with its manifold economic ills. Tariffs, unjust taxes, monopolies, imprisonment for debt, wasteful production, and the money system oppress the poor. John Bellers is cited on money as "a crutch for a crippled body politic."[10] A third source of evil was false religion, also tied to the state, enforcing creeds through "the hireling ministry" and through an impractical education perpetuating ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and the dead weight of custom.[11]

To overcome such evils these separatist New Yorkers proposed to call "the pious of all denominations" to come out from the world and "establish *in every religious congregation,* a system of social, equal and inclusive rights . . . to all . . . property . . . so that . . . by a *growth* in social love . . . each shall love another as one's self, and thus introduce that gospel state of 'peace on earth, good will to men' . . ."[12] While they approved of existing peace, arbitration, and other charitable societies, they were sure these merely cut the branches, not the taproot of evil. "Only [the] . . . 'law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, can free us from the law of sin' and injustice." Only the Holy Spirit, "given to every man," as Paul says, "can produce righteousness in man, and save him from his sins."[13] Pure communism is necessarily theocratic; therefore the saints should not participate in worldly government but act under the guidance of God's spirit within each member. The Friends' testimonies of peace, simplicity, equality, and practicality could then flower and bear fruit.[14]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 26-27, 40. "All nations have been belligerent till William Penn governed Pennsylvania" (p. 29).

[10] Ibid., p. 23. Taxes should be from each according to his ability to pay, graduated by income and wealth (p. 26).

[11] Ibid., p. 25. See also pp. 7, 17, 22, 27-30, 62-63, and passim.

[12] Ibid., pp. 3-4, also p. 31.

[13] Ibid., pp. 27-28; also p. 6.

[14] Ibid., pp. 22, 29, 36. The constitution (pp. 62-63) is a recapitulation of the testimonies in rationalist vocabulary with strong emphasis on education as the regulator of the whole commonwealth and the prerogative of birthright membership. It promises lectures in "chymistry, education, agriculture, mechanics, philosophy, astronomy, belles lettres, botany, anatomy, surgery, and other useful arts and sciences" (art. 10-11).

They had answers to the stock objections: impracticality, escapism, autocratic community government, the unwillingness of the powers that be to level down, and the necessity of the profit motive. They were well acquainted with past experiments, to them a proof of practicality, from Mosaic theocracy to the Doukhobors, "a kind of Quakers . . . lately appeared in Russia."[15] They insisted that if separated, as a city on a hill, they could shed more light upon the world. After all, they were not renouncing marriage and agriculture, the essentials of society. Familiar as they were with the Friends' Meeting for business, they merely contradicted the charge of arbitrary rule. Of course the incorrigible would be disowned, allowed to "share out," and return to be coerced by the princes of this world. They were optimistic enough about human nature to feel that under God, the rich and powerful could be liberal stewards. Finally they recognized social incentives which collectivist effort makes possible both through community contact and by the alleviation of drudgery.[16]

They believed that the signs of the times pointed to an early triumph of the Kingdom. Printing and science were rapidly putting ignorance and superstition to flight. Revolutions were afflicting tyranny and slavery "with a consumption." "Wonders"—presumably the first triumphs of steam—promised innumerable blessings.[17] Therefore now was the psychological moment for "the uncultivated forests and prairies of western Fredonia [the United States] to be settled by [denominational] . . . communities of common stock. . . . Such communities may *now* purchase the wilds, and settle together compactly"; if they do not, the system of exclusive rights will take root.[18] To these sentiments the little band of visionaries subscribed their names, agreeing to share so that "the government of Jehovah, and his anointed, the Prince of Peace; whose kingdom commenced with a community of goods among the . . . first Christians . . . will produce national communities," and "that the coming of the millennium may be ultimately extended over the whole world."[19]

[15] Ibid., p. 23.

[16] Ibid., pp. 39-43 and art. 9, pp. 62-63.

[17] Ibid., pp. 30, 27 and eschatalogical quotations on p. 41.

[18] Ibid., p. 24.

[19] Ibid., pp. 4, 62. Note that they suggest a federal structure like Rousseau's, and that their adventism is gradualist rather than cataclysmic.

When Robert Owen arrived in New York on November 4, 1824, intent on founding a model community, Blatchly met him at the customs house with the Society's pamphlet. But Owen found, on visiting their meeting that evening, that these middle-aged Quakers had no practical skills to aid a frontier experiment and no advertising value as prominent persons. They wanted his backing for their religious communism rather than admission to his comparatively secular and paternalistic project.[20] Owen continued to consort with many New York Friends: John Griscom, Jeremiah Thompson, Thomas Eddy, and others interested primarily in charity schools.[21]

Moving on to Philadelphia for five days, members of Owen's party were tea'd and toured, partly by a group of Friends like Blatchly's who were intent upon forming communitarian associations there and in Wilmington. Donald Macdonald, who attended a large, hour-and-a-half meeting for worship at Arch Street with Robert Owen's son William, noted: "Many persons, both male & female, were dressed in the fashions of the day. Two females and one male speaker addressed the meeting for a short time in a very uninteresting style."[22]

John Speakman, Friend, druggist, and former partner in the drug business with the Quaker naturalist, Thomas Say, was one of Owen's chief consultants. These and other members of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences had started a community movement in the fall of 1823. Speakman preceded Owen at Pittsburgh and introduced him to communitarians there, and reported that the Rappite settlement of Harmony, Indiana, was on an unhealthy site. He arranged for the publication of Owen's addresses to Congress in Philadelphia and probably Pittsburgh. With Say and the scientists, Eli K. Price and the Pestalozzians, he went by keelboat *Philanthropist* to New Harmony arriving in January, 1826.

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[20] "The Diaries of Donald Macdonald, 1824-1826," Indiana Historical Society *Publications,* with an introduction by Caroline D. Snedeker, XIV (1942), 176, 183.

[21] Ibid., pp. 177-78, 180, 198, 302, 307, 309, 314. On November 16 "a portly quaker called upon Mr. Owen to offer lands in the Ohio for sale" (p. 197). For background on Owen's activities, 1824-25, see Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* pp. 101-32.

[22] "Macdonald Diaries," p. 207 (Nov. 21, 1824).

Price was the son of the headmaster of Westtown School and the brother of Dr. Price of Philadelphia. Other Philadelphia Quakers involved with Owen include W. S. Warder, whose sketch of the Shakers Owen published in 1818; Samuel Spackman, his financial correspondent and later Philadelphia agent of the *New Harmony Gazette*; Spackman's partner Wilson; one Gilpin whose Quaker brother had a paper mill near Wilmington; Henry Longstreth; and Redwood Fisher.[23]

Owen proceeded on his whirlwind campaign and launched his major experiment by purchasing Harmony. After a trip to Britain he returned to New York on November 6, 1825. The next day "Mr. Owen went with Mr. Johnson & Mr. Gauce to Elias Hicks" at Jericho, Long Island. "Mr. Owen returned [the following evening] quite pleased with his visit . . . Hicks . . . approves of his views."[24] There is no evidence to show that the venerable leader, already embroiled in theological controversy, showed more than polite interest and good will for "the rational system." Owen, always over-sanguine about expressions of courtesy, took them for enthusiastic commitment. Hicks's followers rather than the Orthodox, however, showed susceptibility to communitarian ideas during the next fifteen years.

The first among these were probably members of the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests at what is now Massillon, Ohio.[25] This group had the most land, the soundest economic basis, the longest life, and the most independent development of any minor Owenite community. It seems likely that news of the organ-

[23] Ibid., pp. 204, 207-209, 211, 231-32, 312; William Owen, "Diary . . . from November 10, 1824, to April 20," Indiana Historical Society *Publications,* IV (1906), 29, 32; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* 47n, 96, 100, 108-10, 112n, 154, 155, 202, 213.

[24] "Macdonald Diaries," pp. 308, 309. Gauce, or Gause, was active among Wilmington communitarians (pp. 308, 312).

[25] Wendall P. Fox, ed., "The Kendal Community," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly,* XX (April-July, 1911), 176-219 publishes a full copy of its constitution (preamble dated Mar. 17, 1826), by-laws, minutes, and final balance sheet of Jan. 6, 1829. The original MS is in the McClymonds Public Library of Massillon. I have been unable to locate the minutes of Kendal Preparative Meeting, to which many of the members belonged, nor of its monthly meeting, Marlborough, before the Separation. The minutes of the Marlborough Women's meeting (Hicksite), beginning Apr. 29, 1828, are in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

ization on January 19, 1826 of a Philadelphia "Friendly Association for Mutual Interests" was the force which crystallized Kendal sentiment. The Philadelphia group was collected from the remnant which had not followed the New Harmony will o' the wisp; it spent a brief season at Valley Forge, and dissolved. Several participants, not yet done with the communitarian way, joined the Shakers.[26] Part of the emotional heat of the schism of 1828 possibly came from friction over this nearby experiment in communitarianism.

Some slight contact with the great work going on at New Harmony may have been provided by visits from Josiah Warren and Paul Brown in 1825 or 1826.[27] These were no orthodox Owenite missionaries, although both became associated with New Harmony. Warren was an individualist anarchist, a mechanical genius, and the creator of a system of labor-notes as a substitute for currency. Brown, a dour schoolmaster and pure communist in touch with Blatchly's Society about 1820, gives ample evidence in his ponderous writings that he came out of a Quaker background into free thought.[28]

In the spring of 1826 the Kendal Community drew up its constitution and by-laws. In theory there was little to distinguish it from the mixture of rationalism and Quakerism in Blatchly's New York Society. The preamble begins: "The first principle and that which should never be absent from the mind is Love to the Great first cause and Creator of all things. The second is a sincere regard and love to our fellow creatures. This love should extend to every created and sensible subject." The "happiness of every rational being" depends on this benevolence; otherwise man will remain the enemy of man. We believe in natural rights, "taken from us by human policy." The conclusion strikes the religious note. "Such

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[26] Jane D. Knight, *Brief Narrative of Events Touching Various Reforms,* pp. 16-19. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* pp. 202-203, summarizes its fate.

[27] W. P. Fox, ed., "The Kendal Community," p. 176, is the sole source to mention, without reference, Warren and Brown in this connection. Both men were in Ohio then, and the deviations in the Kendal system show some relation to their ideas.

[28] Paul Brown, *Twelve Months in New-Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1828), p. 4; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* pp. 185, 187-189.

are the outlines of our principles, calculated we believe, to increase happiness, arrest the progress of vice, and lead to all those virtues and graces which the Gospel enjoins and we humbly commend our efforts to the blessing of its Adorable Author. We, the undersigned, do therefore, relying on the smiles of Divine Providence and renouncing all amusement and practices known to preponderate in evil, agree . . . in an Association for Mutual Co-operation. . . ."[29]

The constitution bears unmistakable evidence of Quaker influence, although persons of several denominations joined. Article 2 provides for equal participation by women (although the document was signed by thirty-nine *males*). Article 3 reads: "The company shall be governed by certain queries which shall comprehend the duties of each member." Application was to the Clerk as if to join a Friends' meeting, and each member was free to share out by amicable settlement on "withdrawing or disownment" (Articles 3, 13). The elements of ascetic simplicity, religious liberty, utility, community care of the sick, injured, and orphaned, and emphasis on practical education echo Blatchly's Quaker pattern. On the other hand, there is a larger proportion of provisions for actual operation, for these Friends were prepared for business.[30]

For $20,000 they mortgaged 2,113 acres in Perry Township, Stark County, near the village, from the estate of Thomas Rotch, a prosperous Friend. On this domain they operated a woolen mill, a wagon shop, a sawmill, and a farm; produced the usual goods of craft and domestic industry; built and operated a school; and maintained a lyceum and a library. On May 16, 1826, they signed a "Bond of Social Compact" providing collateral to guarantee payment. On the same day Matthew Macy, who had arrived from Nantucket two years after Rotch came from Connecticut, was chosen Clerk, one of the five Commissioners, and one of the dozen trustees.[31] Macy's minutes until May 1827, when he seems to have withdrawn from active management, referred to "concerns" and recorded decisions as unanimous or deferred, although officers were

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[29] W. P. Fox, ed., "The Kendal Community," pp. 178-79.

[30] Ibid., pp. 179-82.

[31] Ibid., pp. 188-89; William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Richmond, Indiana, 1946), IV, 158, 832, 841.

elected by plurality.[32] Macy's successor, called both chairman and clerk, produced some curious hybrids in his attempt to continue the same Friendly style. "The sense of the meeting was taken on the . . . motion" to give adult women a proportion of the annual dividends, he wrote on June 25, 1827, "and decided in the affirmative by a unanimous vote."[33]

This subtly reflected a change in the membership and orientation of the community. On May 5, 1827, fourteen members were dismissed. Fifteen others were admitted during the course of the year. The minutes of May 19 approved the establishment of "a school which shall approximate as near to the system of education as recommended by Robert Owen, as the circumstances of this Community will admit."[34] The will of Charity Rotch, deceased, widow of the mortage-holder, had provided for a Kendal charity school, and the community hoped to qualify for the endowment. Three months later a program committee was appointed to arrange meetings "on each first day . . . for . . . mutual instruction, information and improvement in the principles of the system of cooperation intended to be pursued by the Community."[35] This one o'clock lecture and discussion group probably did not interfere with meetings for worship.

Behind this shift was a gradual and more heterogeneous infiltration, especially by a group of veterans from dead or moribund Owenite communities in the Hudson Valley. Notable among these were the Underhills and Macys, who came from the Forestville Community at Coxsackie, New York. Dr. Samuel Underhill, with his pills, library, and electrical machine; Nathaniel Underhill; William G. and Jethro Macy, possibly related to Matthew and probably Friends, all held responsible positions during Kendal's last year. Both Samuel Underhill and John Harmon, a charter

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[32] W. P. Fox, ed., "The Kendal Community," pp. 180-81, 186, 193-94 and passim. The library subscribed to the *New-Harmony Gazette,* the *Gospel Advocate,* and four political weeklies (p. 200).

[33] Ibid., p. 198.

[34] Ibid., p. 196.

[35] Ibid., p. 201.

member, won prominence later as freethinkers. The experience of the Coxsackie transfers was worth something; their zeal to follow the gleam had sent them even beyond the mountains; their ideals seemed consonant with those of the remaining charter members. No doubt the newcomers provided the impetus to undertake another season of co-operative toil and to start building a mill and a schoolhouse. In spite of—or because of—their efforts, the group quietly agreed on January 3, 1829, to divide a small loss and "discontinue business as a Company."[36] A preacher for the Baptist Domestic Missionary Society testified a decade later that Massillon was still a nest of infidelity. He would probably have included Hicksites as well as freethinkers in that condemnation.[37]

After the termination of the Owenite communities in the late twenties, a decade of boom and bust intervened, usually labeled as "the rise of the common man." Jacksonian democrats and anti-Masons were in power, clamoring for the scalps of the village aristocracy. Under the thunder of the politicians many American communitarians shifted to propaganda aimed to interest the workingmen in free, practical education. If the communities had failed because Owen had flouted religion, or because Fanny Wright had desecrated Christian marriage, Quaker communitarians were unaffected. If the human material had been unprepared, let a new generation be fitted with the weapon of knowledge against the forces of privilege. Robert Dale Owen, Frances Wright, Paul Brown, William Maclure, and many others entered the lists on this issue.

William Maclure continued his educational activities at his School of Industry, New Harmony, after Owen's departure. In his *Disseminator of Useful Knowledge* he took notice of the so-called utopian Quakers for having dispensed with priests and lawyers. The compliment was most inopportune, for Friends were then more deeply embroiled than ever before or since in court fights

[36] Ibid., pp. 201-202, 212, 215 and passim; Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias,* pp. 205-206.

[37] Quoted by Gilbert Vale in the New York *Beacon,* III (March 9, 1839), 136.

over the possession of meetinghouses and other Society property. Yet Maclure, still speaking as a convinced communitarian, was referring to the ideal, if not the practice in the Society. Friends settled disputes without recourse to professionals. They paid and collected debts without dependence on physical coercion or threats of prison. They had liberalized the prisons. Their community potential, their mutual trust and standard of utility, not any innate superiority, enabled them to pioneer in these reforms. Anyone could do likewise, he asserted, and in the Jacksonian era reform movements against the money-makers and the evils ascribed to them did push forward, but through politics and pressure, rather than through voluntarist associations.[38]

The Hicksite reformation and the Evangelical counter-reformation in the Society of Friends were related to this Whig-Democratic scuffling. Hicksites objected most strenuously to the existence of special privilege and power in the select meetings of ministers and elders.[39] The Orthodox objected most strenuously to the tincture of rationalism which had cropped out in communitarianism and an "unsound" theology. And both parties exaggerated their cases. Friends, had they wanted to pool their property and industry in this period, were too shaken by schism to go ahead, and almost entirely without stimulus from outside. When some did begin to plan again, the Hicksites provided the most Quaker Associationists, as they were called in the forties. Hicksite communitarians were active at Marlboro, Ohio, the Prairie Home Community near West Liberty, Ohio, and in the Clarkson Phalanx on Lake Ontario.[40]

But even the Hicksites had become staid, and Friendly communitarians tended to drift away from the Society or joined the Progressive or Congregational Friends, a Hicksite splinter. This

[38] William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Poor* (New-Harmony, Indiana, 1831), I, 145-148.

[39] See *Plain Dealing with the Discipline of the Society of Friends.* By a Member of that Society. (New York, 1846), printed by Gilbert Vale, Jr.

[40] J. H. Noyes, *The History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia, 1870), pp. 278-85, 309-27; W. R. Cross, *The Burnt-over District* (Ithaca, New York, 1950), pp. 322-32.

schism parallels the division in the late thirties of reform movements, ranging from peace to antislavery, into moderate and extreme wings.[41]

From the upper Miami in Ohio to the upper Whitewater in Indiana, individual Friends became interested in the Society of Universal Inquiry and Reform of John O. Wattles and John Collins. Out of this general agitation arose such small, short-lived communities as Excelsior on the Ohio River below Cincinnati (1843), Union Home in Randolph County, Indiana, near the present Union City (1844), and finally the Grand Prairie Community, twenty-five miles west of Lafayette, Indiana (abandoned by August, 1846). Hiram Mendenhall, famous for having shocked Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1842 by daring Henry Clay to emancipate his slaves, joined Wattles at Union Home. Joseph Dugdale, who eventually went East to establish the Progressive Friends with Yearly Meeting headquarters at Longwood, West Chester, Pennsylvania, was active with this group but never actually a member of their communities. Adam Brooke of Maryland, another utopian doctor-Friend, was prominent in both Marlboro and Prairie Home.[42]

In the East Friends and persons of Quaker background were active in the Northampton Association in Massachusetts and the Raritan Bay Union at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. At Northampton, an independent community with a school, silk factory, and farm, with George W. Benson and Samuel L. Hill among the leadership, represented opposite trends to and from Quakerism. Benson's

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[41] The early development of Progressive Quakerism, which took place in Indiana and Ohio, has not yet been described in print. Since Willard C. Heiss of Indianapolis has collected much material on this subject which should be published, I will merely summarize the communitarian aspect of this movement.

[42] On the break-up of Grand Prairie, see G. F. Bailey in the *Regenerator* (Fruit Hills, Ohio, 1846-52), n.s. I (September 7, 1846), 183; on Brooke, Noyes, *American Socialisms,* pp. 310, 314. See also the correspondence in the possession of W. C. Heiss. This was not the end of the road for some of the Progressive Friends, who took up the spiritualism as well as the socialism of Wattles.

father, a retired merchant, founded the Providence, Rhode Island, abolition society in 1790, backed Benjamin Lundy, and left the Baptists to become a Friend and peace reformer. Hill, reared a Rhode Island Quaker, turned Baptist after his marriage but left the church over abolition and was for the rest of his life an unaffiliated Garrisonian. Many others "with Quaker ideas" belonged to the Northampton Association. Sunday worship was on the Friends' model, and the 1842 constitution had the same Blatchly-Kendal emphases.[43]

Raritan Bay sprouted in 1853 from the North American Phalanx at Red Bank, New Jersey, because the White Hope of American Fourierism was too secular and extreme for some of its weightier and wealthier members. Marcus Spring, who provided the most cash for the seceders, had married the daughter of Arnold Buffum, Quaker abolitionist. In 1854 Spring persuaded Theodore Dwight Weld, then of nearby Belleville, to open a school on the estate. Angelina Grimké Weld and her sister Sarah Grimké, both convinced Quakers, were teachers until Weld gave up the principalship about 1861. Although the Union was only mildly co-operative at best, and did not last as long as the school, it too had its religious, educational, and liberal elements, and "the Quaker aspect and spirit" prevailed.[44]

The wave of communitarianism receded after the fifties, before the onrush of urban industrialism. The Social Gospel was the twentieth-century utopian style, sometimes attached to, oftener apart from Marxian socialism. During the English Quaker resurgence a Socialist Quaker Society published two *Tracts* (London, 1898-1901). American Friends were hosts to such socialistic lec-

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[43] Alice E. McBee, "From Utopia to Florence: The Story of a Transcendentalist Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1830-1852," *Smith College Studies in History,* XXXII (1947), 16-17, 25-26, 50-51.

[44] Henry D. Thoreau, *Familiar Letters,* ed. F. B. Sanborn (Boston 1894), p. 336, quoted by Maud H. Greene, "Raritan Bay Union, Eagleswood, New Jersey," New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings,* LXVIII (January, 1950), 15. See also pp. 4-8, 10-12.

turers as Scott Nearing,[45] and Young Friends, especially along the Atlantic coast, re-emphasized "practical Christianity" as a basis for union. Herbert G. Wood, English Friend, defended the co-operative idea and the co-existence of public and private property, while attacking the class violence and materialism of Marxism.[46]

If one visits the comprehensive or partial co-operatives now functioning in America, he will find Friends or Friends' ways in several of them: Macedonia and the Society of Brothers in the first category, and among those attempting more limited co-operation, Bryn Gweled, Celo, Canterbury, Hidden Springs, Kingwood, and Tanguy Homesteads.[47] The communitarian spirit lives on among Friends, not only because of the pertinence of latter-day monasticism in the atomic age, but also because there is a reservoir of communitarianism in their religious beliefs. The Friends are a *Society,* out of which will intermittently come those hardy members who are called to try the way of mutual education, mutual criticism, open worship, and mutual aid.

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[45] See, for example, his *Social Religion* (New York, 1913), developed from an address to the Friends General Conference.

[46] *Christianity and Communism* (New York, 1933).

[47] *Cooperative Living* (Poughkeepsie, N. Y.) V, No. 2 (Winter, 1953-54), p. 12, reprints a list of U. S. groups from the newsletter of the Fellowship of Intentional Communities.

Notes and Documents

A POETICAL TRIBUTE TO JOHN WOOLMAN

EDITED BY THOMAS E. DRAKE

John Woolman's death and memory inspired several people to memorialize him in verse. Most of their poems, including those of John G. Whittier and Elizabeth Morgan Chandler in America and Bernard Barton in England, date from the days of the nineteenth-century antislavery crusade. But two appeared in print in the year of Woolman's death, one in broadside form by Thomas May of Henley, and the other, anonymously, in a Yorkshire newspaper in 1772 and again in *The European Magazine and London Review* for October, 1784. This last has just been acquired by the Haverford College Library.

All of the Woolman poems seem to have been known to Amelia Mott Gummere; she listed them in the bibliography of her *Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (1922), 627 ff., with the exception of the anonymous verses, 1772. These, however, she gave to Haverford in 1937 in the form of an old manuscript entitled, "Verses made in England or thereaway on The Death of John Woolman." The manuscript has two poems on the same subject. The first is that of 1772; the second we have never seen in print; and with good reason, it is such poor verse.

The first pleased at least two editors, and is perhaps worth reprinting here. The Yorkshire version, we are informed by Friends Library in London, is signed "A. S.", and dated at Halifax. Our own version in the *European Magazine* has no signature, but is introduced by a little paragraph subscribed "D." All this leaves it still anonymous. But, as "D" says, John Woolman's "doctrine and his humility were admired" in England, "which urged this tribute to his memory." To that memory then let us dedicate this poetic offering of an admiring Englishman:

dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet
[The 1772 printing attributes these lines to Ovid.]

How oft the Muse, smit by Ambition's blaze,
Loads kings and heroes with unworthy praise;
Who, while victorious in the martial field,
To sordid vice and lawless passions yield!
How oft she soars above Olympus far,
And crowns with laurels their triumphant car,
Which should in sable ever be array'd,
And solemn roll beneath the Cypress shade!
  Then, shalt thou, Woolman, want a Bard sublime,
To snatch thy labours from devouring time?
Shalt thou, inurn'd, lie on Britannia's plains,
Unwept and unregarded for thy pains?
Shalt thou, remote from wife, from children dear,
Thy pleasing country,* and thy friends sincere,
Die in oblivion, on a foreign shore,
And be remembered when thou art no more?
Forbid it, Muse! and let some pen divine
Be the protectress of his hallow'd shrine.
While here below, to virtue he adher'd,
And naught but God and his Redeemer fear'd.
Unbounded love his humble actions grac'd,
Whereby all sects, all nations were embrac'd.
His doctrine flow'd pure as the morning dew,
Free to the whole, and not confin'd to few;
Thousands can witness, when they judge it meet,
His words were powerful, and divinely sweet.
  In boundless love he left his native plain
To stem the billows of th' Atlantic main,
And landed here†, begirt with Christian toil,
To probe the heart, or pour the healing oil.
But, ah! that God, who sleeps not night or day,
Who careful watch'd him o'er the rolling sea,
Thought fit to intercept his safe return,
And leave his consort and his friends to mourn.
Yet hopeless weep not, when our tragic lays
Echo from hence into your distant‡ place;
The shocking news with Christian patience bear,
And kiss the hand that seems to be severe:
So may you on a sure foundation rest,
And be hereafter, as we trust he's, blest.

* America
† England
‡ America

THE MEMORANDUM BOOK OF ENNION COOK 1772-1841

An Early Quaker Schoolmaster

BY SUSANNA SMEDLEY AND ANNA B. HEWITT

One of the prized possessions of the late Ann Sharpless, of West Chester, was the memorandum book of Ennion Cook, an early Quaker schoolmaster of Chester County, Pennsylvania. Inside on the first page of this little book with paper-covered sides and worn leather backbone is written in a clear, strong hand, "A Memorandum Book Belonging to Ennion Cook," and on the second page, "Ennion Cook's Book, 10th day of 3rd month 1820." Ennion Cook belonged to Birmingham Meeting for a long period and taught in the meeting school. Aaron Sharpless, also a member of the meeting, served as his executor, and it is through him that the little book must have come to his daughter Ann. She expressed the wish that eventually this book be placed at Haverford, so after her death in 1943 it was presented to the Library, where it is a valued item in the Quaker Manuscript Collection.[1]

Friends came to Chester County in the early days of the settlement of Pennsylvania, and established a meeting at Birmingham in 1684. This meeting, a vigorous and growing one, first met in different places, sometimes in private homes, but in 1763 a meetinghouse was erected. This is the present house, historic because of its use as a hospital during the Battle of the Brandywine. Birmingham Friends opened one of the earliest country schools and pioneered in establishing a library.

Into this wide-awake community came Ennion (pronounced Inyun) Cook, a young man of twenty-three, about the year 1795, bringing his certificate from Goshen Meeting in 1798. We do not know his history before he came to Birmingham, excepting that he was the son of Stephen and Margaret Cook of London Grove; nor do we know where or how much education he had received, or what finally brought him to Birmingham. In 1800 he married

[1] Ann Sharpless (1850-1943) was the daughter of Aaron Sharpless and his second wife Susanna Forsythe Sharpless. For information about Aaron Sharpless and his family see the volume compiled by Gilbert Cope, *Genealogy of the Sharpless Family* (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 694.

Agnes Garrett, a member of the meeting, and she may have been the magnet which drew him to this group of Friends. From his various activities and the positions which he held it is evident that Ennion Cook was an intelligent, useful, and valued member of the community.

Ennion Cook's name appears on the first list of subscribers to the library in 1795; he became a library director in 1800; and continued a member until the time of his death in 1841. Futhey and Cope in their *History of Chester County* report that "The library was first kept at the residence of Abraham Darlington, then removed to Ennion Cook's in 1807, where it was located until 1850, when a house was built for its accommodation on the property of Jesse Seal."[2]

From 1802 to 1823, Ennion Cook served as schoolmaster for the meeting, following John Forsythe. A schoolhouse was erected shortly after the Revolution, but the school outgrew this building and in 1819 a new one was built. This quaint octagonal schoolhouse is standing today on the grounds of Birmingham Meeting. Ennion Cook stood first on the list of subscribers to this octagonal schoolhouse. He gave the largest single amount, $60, the total sum raised being over $700.[3] In 1825 he became a member of the School Committee, in which he took a prominent part.

Little is known about Friend Ennion's teaching, except for some items gleaned from a ledger of expenses which he kept and which is now at the Chester County Historical Society in West Chester. He boarded some of the pupils at $1.25 per week, and the tuition seems to have been $8.00 per year at first and later raised to $10.00. The Commissioners of Chester County paid tuition for pupils who could not afford to do so, and also provided funds for a variety of items such as the following:

To 8 weeks firewood at 3c	24c
To new benches and repairs	25c
To 1 dozen clarified quills	12c
To a spelling book and firewood	21½c

Ennion Cook makes a note in 1820, showing a decline in attendance at that time, which seems strange as the new school-

[2] J. S. Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 309.

[3] Memorandum Book of Ennion Cook, pp. 144-145.

house had so recently been erected. He says: "The 11th Month 13th 1820. No more scholars than four, the least number I have had for 20 years." And later he records: "In the spring of 1823 I gave up the School to follow farming."[4]

One little family tradition has come down from Aaron Sharpless, who was one of his pupils. He said the boys called him "Master Cook." One day Aaron was punished by the master, who struck him on the hands with a ruler, and said "Why Aaron, thee laughed at a man blowing his nose in meeting."

Another little story of a play on his name has come to us. Someone who did not know the correct spelling of Ennion addressed a letter to him as

Onion Cook
Birmingham
In haste

Some wag, seeing the letter before it reached Ennion, made some slight alterations which made it read:

Onions Cooked
at Birmingham
In haste

In 1809 Ennion Cook was chosen sexton of the Birmingham graveyard and continued in this position until 1836. His account book of transactions in this position is kept at the Chester County Historical Society. He served as an Overseer of the Meeting at two different times and in addition to his meeting duties he was one of the Directors of the recently organized National Bank of Chester County. It is said that he used to be seen with Benjamin Sharpless, riding by on horseback on the way to the Bank Directors' meetings in West Chester.

With all these other activities, he took time to record in his small memorandum book the visits of traveling Friends to Birmingham and other nearby meetings, thus indicating the great interest and concern which he had in Friends' affairs. He recorded such visits with constant care, beginning with the first visit of Mehitable Jenkins in 1784 when he was a small lad, about which he wrote, "the remembrance remains fresh in my mind, as she made her home some Weeks in the Winter at my Father's House, and I

[4] These quotations are from the ledger in the Chester County Historical Society.

felt much attached to her."[5] The record of Jacob Green from Ireland, who attended a funeral at Birmingham in 1840,[6] is Ennion's last entry, for he died in 1841.

In his memorandum book Ennion Cook assigned a page to each visitor and entered each succeeding visit. There are entries on 106 pages, and at the beginning an index of the names included. His careful work gives the reader a chance to make some study of visitations and travel of Friends in the early part of the nineteenth century. When we realize the distances from which many of these ministers came, and the difficulties of travel at that period, we can appreciate the great call which they must have felt to spread the Friends gospel message and to encourage the new country meetings.

Many of the visitors came, of course, from nearby meetings in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, others from Canada, Ohio, New York, and New England, as well as one from Ireland and several from England. We find throughout the book penciled notes by Ann Sharpless, giving references to *The Friend* (Philadelphia) and other Quaker sources, in which there is some account of the persons mentioned in the memorandum book. Most of Ennion Cook's entries are very brief, but occasionally he adds a pithy comment. Frequently after the account of a visiting Friend he noted, "Separatist in 1828"; or, a favorite comment, "A very eloquent young man and a pritty gift in the ministry."[7]

Following the pages on which are recorded the visits of traveling Friends, the book has a variety of memoranda: business notes, legal forms, Yearly Meeting financial quotas for the Quarterly Meetings, dates of yellow fever epidemics in Philadelphia, a cure for "Swaney" in a horse, and so on. But the real interest centers in the visitors, and some of these are of especial note. We quote in full the account of Martha Routh:

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[5] Memorandum Book, p. 1. Mehitable Weymouth Jenkins (1731-1815), the wife of Elijah Jenkins, came from Berwick Monthly Meeting, Maine.

[6] Ibid., p. 97. Jacob Green (1784-1866), a minister of Lisburn Monthly Meeting, Ireland.

[7] Some of these references to visiting ministers, and a condensed version of Ennion Cook's accounts as sexton appear in the memorial volume, *Two Hundred Fifty Years of Quakerism at Birmingham, 1690-1940* (West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1940).

> Martha Routh, a minister of the Gospel from old England, was at Goshen meeting the 11th day of 11th mo. 1796. Was a means (if I mistake not) of bringing bonnets in fashion for our leading friends, and Hoods or Caps on the Cloaks in the Galleries, which of Latter time the Hoods on the cloaks of our overseers and other active members have increased to an alarming hight or size, how unlike the dress of their Grandmothers.[8]

In Third Month, 1821, Hinchman Haines from New Jersey, a public Friend, attended Birmingham Meeting: "He appeared to be much favored but had very close doctrine to communicate, he thought some of us were sticking to the Lamp, but had lost the oil, a lamentable state indeed." In the Eighth Month he came again and "spoke very plainly of the lappell coats and the Hair turned the contrary way to nature &c."[9]

Anna Braithwaite, of England, was at a meeting in Ninth Month, 1823. The comment is: "A valuable Friend and Eloquent in her Gift. But remarkably particular in her dress."[10]

Sarah Cresson, a sweet-voiced minister of the gospel from New Jersey, attended meeting and "spoke so smoothly, Kindly, and loveingly it was enough to draw Tears from almost any Eye."[11]

Thomas Shillitoe spoke at Birmingham in 1827 and was

> remarkably qualified for his master's service, being 74 years of Age, strong Lungs & clear voice, spoke much of the sifting time amongst us, of the promotors, instigators, and carriers on of the strife and Division among friends and appeared confident in the belief that when the storm was a little over, the sun would shine brighter than it had done of Latter time as much of the chaff would be blown away, &c.[12]

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[8] Memorandum Book, p. 2. Martha Winter Routh (1743-1817), wife of Richard Routh, was a member of Hardshaw East Monthly Meeting, Manchester, England. The quotation about Martha Routh was used by Amelia Mott Gummere in *The Quaker, A Study in Costume* (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 190.

[9] Memorandum Book, pp. 14-15. Hinchman Haines (1767-1853) of Evesham Monthly Meeting, New Jersey.

[10] Ibid., p. 60. Anna Lloyd Braithwaite (1788-1859), wife of Isaac Braithwaite and mother of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite.

[11] Ibid., p. 81. Sarah Cresson (1771-1829), daughter of Joshua and Mary Cresson, came from Haddonfield Monthly Meeting.

[12] Ibid., p. 82. Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836) of Tottenham Monthly Meeting, England.

Ennion Cook refers to Hannah Warrington, from New Jersey, as being "at Birmingham very acceptably to many, having a very Pritty Gift for Blowing the Gospel Trumpet."[13]

Edward Hicks, the now-famous Quaker painter, visited Birmingham in 1816, and Ennion Cook reports, "a Pritty Gift in the ministry, he touched sharply on the carpeting."[14]

Elizabeth H. Walker, from Purchase, New York, is described as a "lusty woman and remarkably qualified for the Master's service. . . . She gave the young men a good whipping about their dress and address, I hope it may be remembered."[15]

Joseph John Gurney is mentioned "from great Britton, Norwich monthly meeting and Norwich quarterly meeting whose Certificate was dated in the 5th mo. last and endorsed by the Yearly meeting held in London, 1837."[16] There is no further comment.

Another visitor from England was George Withy, who visited Birmingham in 1822 and was "very close on the Lukewarm and Indifferent and truly honest to his feelings with the Loungers on their elbows, and with the careless sons and inattentive daughters."[17]

These quotations will suggest something of the character of this old memorandum book, and also something of the writer, Ennion Cook, who during his years in the Birmingham community served it in many ways, as we have seen—as teacher, librarian, committee man, sexton, bank director, and farmer. In addition to these activities, he left for the interest of future historians this record of the traveling Friends of his time. After examining this little manuscript book, we can appreciate why Ann Sharpless counted it as one of her prized possessions.

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[13] Ibid., p. 102. Hannah Warrington (1793-1891), daughter of Henry and Rebecca Warrington, of Chester Monthly Meeting, New Jersey.

[14] Ibid., p. 14.

[15] Ibid., pp. 19 and 25. Elizabeth Hoyland Walker (1761-1827), wife of Thomas Walker, of Purchase Monthly Meeting, New York.

[16] Ibid., p. 106.

[17] Ibid., p. 50. George Withy (1763-1837), a minister of Wiltshire Monthly Meeting, England.

THE QUAKER IN THE DIME NOVEL

BY THOMAS KIMBER*

In my recent study entitled "The Treatment of the Quaker as a Character in American Fiction (1825-1925)"[1] I examined a considerable number of works of fiction—novels and short stories—in which various authors have portrayed the Quaker as a character. I found that most of these writers, as is shown by Caroline Crew in her article "The Quaker in Fiction,"[2] were themselves not members of the Society of Friends. It is only in quite recent years, in fact, that any considerable body of fiction by Quakers has made its appearance.

Among the more significant works studied may be mentioned Whittier's *Leaves From Margaret Smith's Journal,* Hawthorne's "Gentle Boy," Melville's *Moby Dick,* Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne: Free Quaker* and *Hephzibah Guinness,* Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Bayard Taylor's *The Story of Kennett,* Chauncey Hotchkiss' *Betsy Ross: A Romance of the Flag,* Max Adler's *The Quakeress,* Caroline Atwater Mason's *A Windflower,* and Caroline Dale Snedecker's *Downright Dencey.*

Soon after the close of the Civil War a new popular literary form made its appearance in the United States, a type of fiction later to be known as the "dime novel." Although the term is not entirely accurate, it was soon accepted by the mass of its readers and about 1870 came into general popular usage.[3] The dime and nickel novels, dime libraries, half-dime libraries, and similar innovations, with their offering of violence, mystery, heroism, villainy, and romance—all calculated for popular appeal—rapidly captured the public imagination, performing in the late nineteenth century much the same office which the mystery and detective stories do today.

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[1] Doctoral dissertation at the University of Southern California, completed in October, 1953.

[2] *The Dial,* XXXV (October, 1913), 251-253.

[3] See Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and its Dime and Nickel Novels* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1950), I, 3.

It was somewhat surprising to discover the traditional Friend, clad in Quaker drab and broad-brimmed hat, making his way, albeit unwittingly, into the pages of the dime novel.

Among the lurid titles of these sensational stories a number refer directly or indirectly to the Quakers. As examples of these may be cited the following: *Wide Awake Len, the Quaker City Crook, Quaker City Ferret, Quaker Detective, Quaker Among the Red Skins,* and *The Fugitives;* or, *The Quaker Scout of Wyoming.*[4] Others like *Saul Sabberday, the Idiot Spy* make interesting use of the Quaker as a character.

As examples of this type of fiction employing Quakers in melodramatic roles we may choose Ned Buntline's *Saul Sabberday, the Idiot Spy* and Edward S. Ellis's *The Fugitives;* or, *The Quaker Scout of Wyoming.*

Jay Monaghan in his dashing biography of Ned Buntline declares that a review of the first fifty years of Buntline's life is the story of the rise of cheap literature in America.[5] His books were read by countless thousands who probably knew little of the vagaries of the author's life. Probably Buntline's short period of residence in Philadelphia acquainted him with the ways of Friends.

Saul Sabberday, the Idiot Spy is a specimen of the Beadle Dime Library novels. It is a Revolutionary War story, the hero being an eccentric young Quaker lad who plays the role of a spy in Washington's army. Saul must be classed with the "fighting Quakers." His brothers Seth and Simeon occupy respectively rather prominent positions in the small colonial navy and in Washington's army. All three are sons of a Quaker widow, who appears to subscribe to Quaker pacifist principles. An attempt is made by the author to illustrate these principles but in an unconvincing manner. The widow, for example, makes little effort to restrain her half-witted son Saul from his ambition to "wear a real sword" and join his loyal brothers in defense of his country.[6] Later in the narrative, when Benedict Arnold is attempting to abduct Ruth Sabberday and

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[4] Johannsen, II, 393.

[5] *The Great Rascal: The Life and Adventures of Ned Buntline* (Boston, 1952), p. 33.

[6] See Ned Buntline, *Saul Sabberday, the Idiot Spy,* in Beadle's Dime Library (New York, 1881), X, 122, p. 2.

Lizzie Hall, the infuriated widow seizes a chair and attempts to hurl it at the general and his attendant, Captain Crabtree. (p. 10). This melodramatic scene hardly strengthens the reader's faith in her pacifist convictions nor, indeed, in the author's historical integrity!

As if to bolster up the rather weak characterization of the Sabberday family as Quakers, the author makes frequent use of the Friendly "thee" and "thou." He inserts several comments into the narrative intended to convince the popular reader that the different members of the Sabberday household are Friends. When Washington comes to visit the Sabberday farm the widow and her daughter Ruth are dressed in "plain but elegant" material. The aging widow addresses the renowned commander as "Friend George" (p. 8). On another occasion when Simeon Sabberday vows vengeance on the British for hanging young Nathan Hale, whose mother was a Quaker, the Widow Sabberday rebukes him for his oath with the words, "Thee must not swear, Simeon! Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord" (p. 5).

It is evident that the author possesses at least a superficial knowledge of the ways of Friends, but I find little to show that he understands those deeper sources of spiritual motivation which sent so many of them to prison for their religious convictions. The story is primarily a melodramatic adventure tale, displaying some acquaintance with the leading military figures and campaigns of the Revolution. The author possesses a flair for the dramatic, but little of solid character portrayal can be claimed for such a tale. His Quakers are "stock Quakers," displaying minor characteristics of the Friends with little of their more basic and significant qualities. As Caroline Ladd Crew asserts:

> Too often his [the Quaker's] portrayors seize merely upon the striking or picturesque externals, use excessive daubs of gray in the portraiture of bonnet and waistcoat, and drag in with unnatural frequency the "thou" and "thee." The result is a caricature rather than a character.[7]

Edward S. Ellis's *The Fugitives,* a tale of the Wyoming massacre in Pennsylvania in 1778, lays considerably more emphasis upon the Quaker traits of the leading character. The story purports

[7] "The Quaker in Fiction," p. 251.

to be a true account of the massacre and does contain some fairly vivid descriptions. The hero of this pamphlet-novel is the Quaker "scout" Stoddard Franklin. Previous to the ravaging of the Wyoming Valley by the red men, Stoddard had been a preacher who lived near Forty Fort and was in love with Annie Abingdon, the colorless heroine in this melodrama. He was looked upon askance by his neighbors because of his pacifist principles, many declaring that he would not fight, even to protect the family of the girl he loved. The chief aim of the novelette is to demonstrate that under such severe provocation as the cruel and supposedly unwarranted attack on innocent women and children by the Wyoming Indians, even the peace-loving Quaker must and would fight.

A stilted and inaccurate "Quakerly" jargon is employed throughout the story to indicate that the hero is a genuine Friend. There are some authentic touches of characterization in Stoddard Franklin, however, such as his refusal to take vengeance upon the Indian captors of Annie Abingdon and her mother.

> "It does not become us to entertain revenge toward these heathen," pursued the Quaker. "They had the power to do incalculable harm to their captives but refrained. When one's life depends upon it, *perhaps* — *perhaps* resistance may be justifiable."[8]

Complete self-mastery is also asserted to be a characteristic of the Quaker scout, involving at times great coolness in danger (p. 99). The closing statement, that the hero suffered no diminution of respect or prestige from the Society of Friends, would seem to be unconvincing (p. 100). It is well known that those Friends whose consciences permitted them to fight in the Continental Army were almost invariably disciplined and usually were disowned.

My impression of the treatment of the Quaker in the dime novels studied is that authors realized that there was good story value in these independent and eccentric figures. It is the minor traits often that are stressed, although the pacifism of the Friends is too obvious a feature to be overlooked, especially in the years following the Civil War. Hence writers like Buntline and Ellis, with an eye to profits, made use of the Quakers as they did any other unusual characters calculated to arouse public interest.

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[8] Edward S. Ellis, *The Fugitives, or, The Quaker Scout of Wyoming, a Tale of the Massacre of 1778* (New York, 1865), p. 99.

Quaker Research in Progress

The following list of current or recent studies in Quaker history continues the series of such notices appearing regularly in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete, but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information concerning other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Wilmer A. Cooper, 11005 Kenilworth Avenue, Garrett Park, Maryland. A Study of the Quaker View of the Nature of Man. (The study will center on the views of Rufus M. Jones. The assumption will be that his views are widely representative of the twentieth-century Quaker view of man.) Vanderbilt University; Religion, thesis for Ph.D. degree. Research begun.

Martha Lou Gandy, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware. Joseph Richardson, Silversmith. (A biography and a study of his known works in relation to the art of silversmithing.) University of Delaware; Early American Culture, thesis for Master's degree, 1954.

George H. Moore, William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa. An Educational History of William Penn College. (To be confined largely to curriculum and instruction.) State University of Iowa; Education, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1954.

Pauli Murray, 388 Chauncey Street, Brooklyn 33, New York. Proud Shoes. (History of a free Negro family who lived in Delaware and Pennsylvania before and in North Carolina after the Civil War; many contacts with Friends, especially with Friends Freedmen's Association.)

Catherine Owens Peare, 67 St. Paul's Place, Brooklyn 26, New York. William Penn. (A biography.)

Arthur O. Roberts, George Fox College, Newberg, Oregon. Selections from George Fox's works. (A one-volume edition; chiefly the doctrinals and epistles.)

Ralph A. Rose, c/o Friends World Committee, Wilmington College, Wilmington, Ohio. Friends and Civil Liberties. (The position of Friends in relation to civil liberties as reflected in the writings of William Penn, John Woolman, Jonathan Dymond, and contemporary Friends.)

Bradford Smith, Shaftsbury, Vermont. The role of voluntary association in United States history. (To include the role of Quaker leaders and activities—Levi Coffin, Susan B. Anthony, Quaker-sponsored self-help housing projects, etc.)

Lawrence D. Stewart, Department of English, University of California, Los Angeles 24, California. John Scott of Amwell. Northwestern University; English, thesis for Ph.D. degree, 1952.

George A. Test, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania. Three unpublished Whittier letters. (Comment and annotation.)

Frederick B. Tolles, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America. (A volume in the "Library of American Biography.")

---------- William Penn: A Selection from his Writings. (One volume, including religious, political, literary, and personal writings.)

Barbara Walker, 7 Warenford Place, Newcastle upon Tyne 5, England. The Society of Friends on Tyneside. King's College, Durham University; Modern History, thesis for B.A. degree.

Anthony F. C. Wallace, 3437 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Biography of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet. (The cultural disintegration and reorganization of the Seneca nation in New York between 1776 and 1820, and the influence of Quaker missions in that reorganization.)

Stafford Allan Warner, "Whitelea," Didcot, Berkshire, England. Yardley Warner, Friend of the Freedmen. (To be followed by a study of the life of Yardley Warner's widow and of her educational work for the children "laboring classes" in Somersetshire.)

A. Gilbert Wright, 1614 N. E. 7th Terrace, Gainesville, Florida. Parallelisms between Quakerism and Some Expressions of Hinduism. (Similarities and differences between the approach to God, the pursuit of "the divine life," and the improvement of man's condition as these are treated by Quaker writers and in the writings of noteworthy Hindus.)

Historical News

* * *

Friends Historical Association

Friends Historical Association took part in the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Lincoln University by holding its Spring Meeting in Lincoln University Chapel on Saturday, Fifth Month 15, 1954. Richmond P. Miller, Vice President, presided in the absence of the President, Henry J. Cadbury.

Thomas M. Jones, Professor of History at Lincoln University and a Friend, welcomed the members of the Association. Horace Mann Bond, President of the University, presented an address on "Friends and Lincoln University." Lincoln University, first called Ashmun Institute, was the first degree-granting institution established anywhere in the world to provide a higher education for Negroes.

Following Dr. Bond's address, Thomas E. Drake, Professor of History at Haverford College, presented interesting information about the Cresson family, a Quaker family long devoted to the humanitarian concerns of their Quaker forbears.

At the close of the meeting four students majoring in history led a conducted tour of the grounds and buildings. A group of students and several members of the faculty joined members of the Association for the picnic supper in the old gymnasium building.

From Quaker Libraries

The Quaker Collection of the Haverford College Library now owns one of the rarest of the early Quaker attacks on slavery. All the Quaker pamphlets on slavery prior to John Woolman are rare. Fox and the Keithians, John Hepburn, William Burling, Ralph Sandiford, and Benjamin Lay—only a few examples of the public discussion of slaveholding by this first generation of Quaker antislavery pioneers survive to tell their tale of unpopular opposition to a popular practice. Elihu Coleman's *Testimony Against that Antichristian Practice of Making Slaves of Men* dates from 1733—the first antislavery essay to be published by a New England Friend. Nearly a century later, in 1825, Abraham Shearman, a Quaker publisher in New Bedford, declared in a second edition that only one copy of the original issue then survived. And just ten years ago

this was still true, as Thomas E. Drake reported in an article on Elihu Coleman, in Howard Brinton's *Byways in Quaker History* (Pendle Hill, 1944, pp. 111-136.) One perfect copy, that is, could then be found, in the Library of Friends House in London (not in the British Museum, as stated in *Byways,* p. 135). Another, lacking a title page, belonged to the Library Company of Philadelphia.

But in the spring of 1953 a New England book dealer came into possession of a bound volume of early New England pamphlets, found by someone, he reported, in an accumulation of minor theological works of little value. This volume contained, among other rarities, a "perfect" copy of Elihu Coleman's 1733 edition; perfect, in the sense of complete, from title page to tail piece, but trimmed and stapled in the process of binding; and yellowed, stained, and folded in the course of two hundred and twenty years. Now, enclosed in a modest "slip case" of Quaker grey, this small but significant document in the story of the growth of the Quaker conscience regarding slavery reposes among the Treasures of the Quaker Collection of the College Library.

* * *

When the Great Separation of 1827-28 shall have become merely a matter of antiquarian interest and some historian sets about to write the history of that unhappy event, the papers gathered by Samuel L. Southard in connection with the case of Stacy Decow and Joseph Hendrickson *v.* Thomas L. Shotwell will be source material of prime value. Southard was the lawyer who argued this crucial case (involving a disputed Quaker school fund) before the New Jersey Court of Appeals in 1833. The papers are now in the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

The Friends Historical Library has lately added considerably to its collection of Quaker records on microfilm. The most recent additions are: abstracts of the registers of vital statistics of English meetings (from the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania); records of births, deaths, and marriages of the meetings within the compass of Ireland (Dublin) Yearly Meeting and of the two Baltimore Yearly Meetings; and records of the following meetings in North Carolina: Cane Creek, New Garden, Perquimans, Piney Woods, Wells, and Westfield. These films supplement the vast quantity of record material already available in the William Wade Hinshaw Index to Quaker Meeting Records in the Library.

Book Reviews

John Greenleaf Whittier the Quaker. By C. Marshall Taylor. Supplement No. 25 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.* London: Friends' Historical Society. 1954. 37 pages. 2s. 6d. (Obtainable at the Friends Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania. $.65.)

James Nayler: A Fresh Approach. By Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Supplement No. 26. to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.* London: Friends' Historical Society. 1954. 20 pages. 1s. 6d. (Obtainable at the Friends Book Store, 302 Arch Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania. $.35.)

It has long been the happy practice of the Friends' Historical Society, our English counterpart, to publish separately, as supplements to its *Journal,* the more notable addresses delivered before its membership. Of the two most recently so published one is by an American Friend, a Vice-President of Friends Historical Association, an amateur (in the original and best sense of the word) in Quaker history; the other is by a professional church historian, not a Friend, but steeped as few Friends are in the literature of early Quakerism.

For years C. Marshall Taylor has been devotedly collecting and studying Whittieriana. One cannot live, as he has done, in close and constant association with a poet's books, letters, and manuscripts without acquiring special knowledge, special insights into his personality, his mind, his faith. Marshall Taylor has, quite naturally, had a particular interest in Whittier as a Friend and spokesman of Quakerism. In this address, delivered in London in September, 1952, he has set down his observations (with those of other writers) on such subjects as the Quaker atmosphere of Whittier's home, his relations with English Friends (notably William Forster, Joseph Sturge, and John Bright), his attitudes towards Quakerism in both the organizational and the spiritual sense. To Whittier the agitator, the crusader against human slavery, he gives due attention, but he would have us recognize equally the poet's lifelong opposition to what he calls "credal slavery"—the slavery of the mind to "text and legend." The essence of Whittier's religion he finds in the affirmation that "Reason's voice and God's/Nature's and Duty's, never are at odds." Whereas to Rufus Jones Whittier's basic faith was the mystical belief that "God is the one absolute reality," to Marshall Taylor it was "a reasonable faith," almost, one is tempted to suggest, a Hicksite faith. He cites good evidence—some of it from hitherto unpublished materials in his own collection—to support his observations.

There is a strange fascination about the career of James Nayler. Many writers have tried to "explain" him, account for his bizarre and scandalous conduct outside the Bristol gates on a certain dark rainy

morning in October, 1656, and his even more wondrous behavior thereafter—behavior which, fully appreciated only in our time, has given him a secure place in the calendar of Quaker saints. To offer "a fresh approach" after three hundred years to the Nayler problem—this is no slight claim. Yet as one reads Geoffrey Nuttall's Presidential Address, delivered in October, 1953, one feels that he has amply justified the claim. Looking closely into the *milieu* in which Nayler moved, he has discovered a group deeply tinctured with the peculiar doctrines of Familism, especially the notions that Christ was "a Type, and but a Type," and that it was possible for a man "totally to be inhabited by Christ." This revelation throws a flood of light on Nayler's aberration, his tragic deviation from the Apostolic Christianity which the early Friends preached and lived. It gives new meaning and new drama to the Fox-Nayler conflict, the first crucial turning-point in Quaker history after Fox's Pendle Hill vision.

Having set Nayler's "fall" in a new and revealing context, Dr. Nuttall turns to its sequel, shows how Nayler's developing theology reflected the lesson of his own agony and his spiritual recovery. "He had now come to grips with something which other Friends tended to overlook: the reality of evil and of sin, the continuing of temptation in the Christian's life. . . ." In Nayler's later writings, Nuttall suggests, Friends can find a salutary offset to the ebullient perfectionism of George Fox. Not that Nuttall undervalues Fox's contribution: his brilliant introduction to John Nickalls' edition of the *Journal* testifies to that. But we are not all of Fox's caliber, and "for less heroic souls a rigorous . . . perfectionism easily becomes a shallow humanism, in which sin is overlooked, not overcome." "For a balanced theology," Nuttall concludes, "Nayler's realistic perception that the struggle with sin continues and Nayler's pity for the bemused, backsliding Christian are indispensable."

F. B. T.

Thomas Young, Natural Philosopher, 1773-1829. By Alexander Wood and Frank Oldham. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954. xx, 355 pages. $6.00.

Few men have ever touched human knowledge at so many points or in such telling fashion as did Thomas Young. He demonstrated remarkable ability in so many ways that he deserves the name of genius, although he himself would never have claimed such a designation. Thomas Young was born of a Quaker family at Milverton in Somersetshire in 1773 and died in London in 1829 when he was slightly less than fifty-six years old. His notable accomplishments have made him the object of three or four previous biographical works, this latest being the result of many years of careful research by the late British scientist, Alexander Wood. After Wood's death in 1950, the last third of the work was brought to completion by another of Young's biographers, Frank Oldham.

Thomas Young was a doctor, but therein lies perhaps his least claim to remembrance, except for his contributions to our knowledge of the eye

and of color vision. These were no mean contributions, but they stem from his lifelong interest in natural philosophy. In the early years of the Royal Institution, founded in 1800 by Count Rumford, Young was a principal figure and gave a course of lectures in Natural Philosophy which led to the publication of his greatest single work in the field. It was during these few years with the Royal Institution that he made the first important break with the eighteenth century concerning the nature of light, a century dominated by the thinking of Newton. By experimental means, he discovered the interference of light and so laid the foundation for the wave theory which held sway throughout most of the nineteenth century. His was the credit for opening this new and fruitful field, but to the French scientist, Fresnel, goes the credit for bringing it to a high state of cultivation. As Fresnel said in correspondence with Young, "You have gathered the flowers; I have dug painfully to discover the roots."

The inscription to Thomas Young in Westminster Abbey (near the tomb of Newton) relates that Young was "a man eminent in almost every department of human learning, patient of unintermitted labour, endowed with the faculty of intuitive perception". He brought "an equal mastery to the most abstruse investigations in letters and science, first established the undulatory theory of light, and first penetrated the obscurity which had veiled for ages the hieroglyphics of Egypt."

This last alludes to one of the most remarkable of Young's achievements. Having attained to an uncommonly good mastery of languages at a very early age, he was always an eminent scholar in Greek and Latin. In 1814, twelve years after the Rosetta Stone had been brought to the British Museum from Egypt, he turned his remarkable powers of mind and analysis to deciphering it, and in three or four years he surpassed those who had worked on it for more than a decade. He was, in 1821, the only man who had ever read in recent times a single word of the mysteries hidden in the Egyptian writing. This new biography treats with great care the rival claims of Thomas Young and of Champollion in the field of Egyptology, crediting Young with the important first discoveries in the reading of the hieroglyphics, but giving the younger man, Champollion, the credit he deserves for proceeding to an advanced position after Young's brilliant foray.

The relationship of Thomas Young to the Society of Friends is doubtless of particular interest to the readers of this journal. In this connection, the first three chapters contain the most significant information, for they show how much Young gained from the early nurture in a Quaker home, how much his lifelong habits of industry were bred in the early years, yet how he could not be restrained by some of the forms and restrictions prevalent in the Society. The senior Thomas Young, father of the budding genius (and of nine other children) was an active and concerned Friend. A Quaker uncle, Richard Brockleby, had much to do with the young boy's education. It is said that he could read at the age of two, had read the Bible through at age four, and by age thirteen he had some knowledge of

Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Hebrew. In 1787, under the guidance of David Barclay of Youngsbury (grandson of Robert Barclay of Urie), Thomas Young and David Barclay's grandson, Hudson Gurney, were put under a private tutor. Thus began a long association between Thomas Young and Hudson Gurney, an association terminated only by Young's death in 1829. Time and again throughout the volume there are cogent excerpts from the letters of Thomas Young to Hudson Gurney. The latter wrote the first memoirs of Young's life.

In estimating the influence on Thomas Young of his early training, Alexander Wood says, "There is a certain affinity between the Quaker pursuit of truth, with its emphasis on verification in personal experience, and the scientific method." He speaks also of Young's "acute sense of the importance of time." Thomas Young's break with his early upbringing, particularly in matters of the existing discipline and testimonies, began in Göttingen when he was twenty-two. He accepted *all* of life and relished it, becoming adept in music, dancing, art, horsemanship, and gymnastics. In Göttingen, in taking his degree, he records his testimony against the taking of oaths. But when he later returned to complete his studies at Cambridge, he could enter only as a member of the Church of England, which he forthwith joined. One senses that he retained throughout his life a sense of reverence and respect for religious observance. Hudson Gurney reports soon after Young's death that "he was a great studier of the scriptures and was very careful in encouraging the religious practices of those around him. . . . He himself, I gather, retained a good deal of his old creed."

That this versatile man had some weaknesses is evident in the biographer's treatment of the occasional controversies into which his scientific work threw him. He does not appear to have been a great success as a physician, and one suspects that his chief interests usually lay elsewhere, in scientific and linguistic pursuits. As a lecturer, he was so advanced as to be obscure, and his claim to enduring recognition must reside chiefly in the number and high quality of the scientific contributions he made. He moved restively but brilliantly from one field to another throughout his life.

Haverford College RICHARD M. SUTTON

William Penn, Horticulturist. By Rachael McMasters Miller Hunt. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1953. 38 pages. $10.00.

In the short compass of thirty-two pages of text the author tells the whole story of William Penn's stirring life. On pages 13 to 27 inclusive we find his interest in plants touched upon through quotations from his letters, from the little book *Some Fruits of Solitude,* and from his long letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, dated August 16, 1683. The text is well documented. There is an index, and seven and a half pages of photostatic reproduction of the letter just mentioned as it was printed in Penn's day. For illustration there is a view of restored Penns-

bury and a copy of William Penn's bookplate "from his own copy of the Holy Bible." Inman's portrait of William Penn is reproduced as a frontispiece.

Moorestown, New Jersey EDWARD E. WILDMAN

John Woolman, Child of Light. By Catherine Owens Peare. New York: Vanguard Press. 1954. 254 pages. $3.00.

The Prisoner's Friend: The Story of Elizabeth Fry. By Patrick Pringle. New York: Roy Publishers. 1953. 143 pages. $2.50.

These two books fall into very different categories, though both are classified as "juveniles." The art of writing for children is a very special gift. Catherine Owens Peare has that gift and her account of John Woolman's life, simplified and made into story-scenes based on selected facts, will introduce many a juvenile Quaker to our greatest Quaker saint in a very attractive way. Catherine Peare makes no pretense of not inventing dialogue and minor incident to make her drama move, but she has made every effort to cling close to her sources and to interpret John Woolman faithfully. Elizabeth Gray Vining did a similar task beautifully with the more exciting material of the life of William Penn. Such books, with a story-quality and a vivid account of the background of the main character, bring these people of the past alive to the boys and girls growing up in our Meetings and give them a sense of the greatness of the Society of Friends and what it has meant in history. It is impossible to explain what Quakerism means apart from the lives of Quakers who have exemplified it. Woolman gives one aspect, Penn another; George Fox and Elizabeth Fry others again. We need to nourish our children on these lives and engage their imaginations with them, as the psychologically expert Roman Church feeds its members on the lives of the Saints.

Catherine Peare is a Friend, recently joined in membership, and there is Quaker ardor behind her book.

Patrick Pringle, on the other hand, is not a Quaker and the Quaker philosophy he tries to introduce into his story of Elizabeth Fry, *The Prisoner's Friend,* is dry and secondhand. I have not read his former book for boys and girls about Livingstone, but in his endeavor to present Elizabeth Fry to older children he lacks the warmth and true inner interest in his subject which would enable him to succeed. It is the kind of book to put youngsters "off" Elizabeth Fry. Mr. Pringle has also made a major inaccuracy at his climax in confusing Mrs. Fry's two preliminary visits to Newgate, four years apart. The first, to the lying-in mothers in the infirmary, involved no danger. It is a pity that this great story should be garbled.

Westtown, Pennsylvania JANET WHITNEY

Briefer Notices

By Henry J. Cadbury

The tercentenary of the birth of Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1651 occasioned some articles or pamphlets which may now be listed, together with some more substantial items at the time of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Germantown in 1683.

For the celebration of Pastorius Day, December 9, 1951, the German American Committee of Greater New York issued an attractive program with brief sketches of Pastorius, 1651-1719, and of other persons of German-American note, the text of the 1688 protest against slavery which Pastorius signed, etc.

Howard W. Elkinton contributed articles on "Francis Daniel Pastorius after 300 Years" to the *Philadelphia Forum,* Vol. 21, No. 2 (October, 1951), 9, 15 and on "Francis Daniel Pastorius — Free Man" to the *Germantowne Crier,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (September, 1951), 10, 27.

Francis Daniel Pastorius and the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Germantown by Albert B. Faust is a twenty-two page pamphlet issued by the Carl Schurz Foundation, Inc. (Philadelphia, 1934) and containing an address delivered at the Pastorius Celebration in Cincinnati, October 29, 1933.

The *Year Book* of the German Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. 3 (Spring 1952), published the three addresses given at the Pastorius Celebration in Germantown on October 6, 1951, by Governor John S. Fine, Professor Harry W. Pfund, and Robert T. McCracken respectively (pp. 14-29). The facts of his career and his significance for the past and the future are presented independently in the three articles.

Charles Francis Jenkins wrote a comprehensive but brief sketch "Francis Daniel Pastorius" in the *American German Review,* Vol. I, No. 2 (December, 1934), 22-25, 47.

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In the *Germantowne Crier,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (March, 1954), 24, are given some excerpts from Joshua Evans's *Journal,* as printed in *Friends Miscellany.*

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The centenary of the death of Amelia Opie in December, 1853, has been marked by at least the following articles outside of Quaker periodicals: Frances Collingwood, "The Gay Quaker," in *East Anglian Magazine,* 13 (1954), 277-283, nicely illustrated; Helen MacGregor, "Amelia Opie (1769-1853)" in *Norfolk Magazine,* 7 (1954), 40-43. The Norwich (England) Public Libraries have published in a leaflet *Amelia Opie 1769-1853* a brief account of her life and a list of works by and about her.

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The *Durham University Journal,* N.S. 14 (1953), 94-103, had an article on "Luke Howard and Goethe" by D. F. S. Scott, the author of

Some English Correspondents of Goethe, (London: Methuen, 1949), in which the connection was also discussed (pp. 46-54) with references to earlier articles by E. F. Howard and by H. W. Pfund (See this BULLETIN, 29 [1940], 60).

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An attractive portrait, "Rufus Jones, Friend," based upon personal acquaintance and his own writing was contributed by Janet Payne Whitney to the *Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 193, No. 4 (April, 1954), 29-33.

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Constance Buel Burnett has followed her children's book on Lucretia Mott with an adult account of *Five for Freedom* (New York: Abelard Press, 1953), which gives sketches of five women interested in women's rights, viz., Lucretia Mott (pp. 13-48), Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony (pp. 177-256), and Carrie Chapman Catt. The page references for those who were Friends are given, but the others also had Quaker contacts.

* * *

A slender pamphlet by H. Liebert (New Haven, limited edition, printed for the author, 1948) gives an account of *Johnson's Last Literary Project.* John Scott, the Quaker poet of Amwell (1730-1783), and Dr. Samuel Johnson first met about 1766 and in spite of difference in politics maintained a friendly acquaintance. Soon after Scott's death David Barclay asked the Doctor to write the biography of the poet, offering to supply materials. Johnson agreed, but he died before anything was written. This episode, neglected in most Johnsoniana, is known from John Hoole who took over the materials and wrote the memoir prefixed to Scott's posthumous volume of *Critical Essays.*

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Albright G. Zimmerman's article on "James Logan, Proprietary Agent" (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* 78 [1954], 143-176) is an extensive and highly technical article on the efforts Logan made in commerce to attempt to make Pennsylvania a fruitful investment for William Penn. It is based on letter books and journals at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

* * *

Herman Blum writes on "The Mystery of the Burned William Penn Letter" in the *Autograph Collectors' Journal,* Vol. 3, No. 3 (April, 1951), 18-21. In spite of the statement on a modern copy of the letter about Pennsylvania written in 1683 by William Penn to the Earl of Sunderland that the original had been consumed by fire, Blum claims that the original, or at least *an* original, is in the writer's Blumhaven Collection in Philadelphia.

* * *

The subject "Puritans and Quakers" has often been discussed by New Englanders. Charles E. Park now writes upon it in the *New England Quarterly,* 27 (1954), 53-74. The bulk of the article is an explanation of the origin and aim of the Puritans. This is followed by a brief narra-

tive of the Quaker invasion. The tone of the article is irenic. The picture is perhaps over-simplified. "Neither side quite understood the other. The Quakers did not understand how determined the Puritans were to put through their secret project; nor how afraid they were that so many of their own company wanted to adopt Quakerism. The Puritans did not understand that all the Quakers wanted was to offer their wares to all, and to give everyone a chance to become a Quaker."

* * *

A listing of Quaker manuscript materials in the Library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society will be found in the *Guide to the Manuscript Collections* . . . by Elizabeth C. Biggert (Columbus, 1953). Among other items are diaries of Charles Osborn and James Stanton and material connected with slavery.

* * *

Louise Bird Ralston writes on "The Old School House" in Mount Holly in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* 72 (1954), 26-47. The building long was regarded as that used by Reverend John Brainerd, but that tradition has been lately challenged. The present article argues that it was where the Quaker John Woolman taught. The evidence is mainly circumstantial. The building, the oldest schoolhouse in the county and perhaps in the state, was handed over in 1951 by the Female Benevolent Society of Mount Holly to the New Jersey Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

* * *

The life of Florence Kelley (1859-1932) has been written by the late Josephine Goldmark and published under the title *Impatient Crusader* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953, 217 pages). A vigorous worker for legislative reform of the abuses of our industrial civilization, she owed much of her idealism to the Quaker background in which she was reared. For this a bit of published autobiography was available. Her mother was Caroline Bartram Bonsall, descendant of John Bartram, the Quaker botanist. Florence was adopted by the Pughs of Germantown. She formally joined the Society of Friends in 1927.

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The *General Index* to the *Essex Review,* Volumes 37 (1928) to 61 (1952) (Colchester, 1953) calls to our attention *s.v.* "Friends, Society of," several Quaker articles of local Essex history that we had not noticed, of which may be mentioned those on William Penn and George Fox in Essex (Vol. 44), sufferings of Essex Quakers (44 and 45), early Friends in Essex (56 and 57, from the Archdeaconry records).

* * *

In the *Transactions* of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 51 (1952), 137-141, is published a list from 1676 of the parishes of the diocese of Carlisle with the number of inhabitants old enough to communicate and the number of Roman Catholics, Quakers, and other dissenters respectively. The percentage of the three last groups is 0.5, 2.2, and 1.9. Out of over eighty parishes

reporting those with most Quakers are Kirkby Stephen (19), Ravenstonedale (32), Wigton (40), Wetherall (20), Isell (22), Calebeck (70), Kirkbride (21), Bridekirk (30).

* * *

Charles Francis Potter covers a wide range in his book *The Faiths Men Live By* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954, 323 pp.). It is not surprising if the pages on the Friends (230-233) are few and not quite accurate; e.g., "Between 1650 and 1689 no fewer than fifteen thousand Quakers suffered death for their faith."

* * *

Reminiscences of a summer spent by a little Quaker girl of eleven at her grandmother's in Nantucket make up the slender volume *Two Steps Down* by Alice Albertson Shurrocks (Nantucket: Inquirer and Mirror Press, 1953, 75 pages). It deals with persons and things, and has no plot. Its interest is quaintness rather than Quakerism.

* * *

Under the heading "The Shrine that Rose from Rubble" Ashley Halsey, Jr., deals with Pennsbury, in the *Saturday Evening Post,* September 26, 1953, pp. 120, 123, 126 f. (illustrated). It recounts very fully Penn's difficulties with the original building and also those of its modern reconstruction.

* * *

In the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* F. Charles Thum contributes an article on "Balanced Simplicity" (19 [1953], 195-200). The theme is further described as "The complexity of simplicity, and a glance at the Quakers." The author says that an active interest in simplicity of design is almost unique but that the Quakers passed through three stages and when, in Pennsylvania, they had a chance to express themselves in architecture, they aimed at simplicity. They avoided Gothic forms and sought an architectural form suitable to their type of worship. A single detail further commented on is the pent roof, as in the Letitia Street House now in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

* * *

Chapter III in *The Atomic Story* by J. G. Feinberg (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953) deals with "The Quaker Schoolmaster," John Dalton. The whole book tells what preceded and what has followed him. Frederick Soddy, F.R.S., who supplies some more technical matter, advocates the view that William Higgins, the Irish chemist, not Dalton, originated the atomic theory.

* * *

The article by John S. Stephens in the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* 4 [1953], 30-46, on "Nathaniel Morgan: Quaker Radical and Herefordshire Reformer" is based on the subject's "private memorandum book" for the years 1812 to 1854. We get a firsthand picture of a public man interested in pacifism, antislavery, and other reforms, a strict Quaker, but sometime mayor of Ross, and friendly to other religious groups. This intimate and detailed picture makes one wonder how many

other substantial Friends there were whom Quaker journals and histories do not even mention.

* * *

Warwick County Records, Vol. 8 (Warwick, 1953) deals with Quarter Sessions Records, Trinity 1682 to Epiphany 1690, and is ably edited by H. C. Johnson. Of especial interest to Friends is a supplement to the Introduction by J. H. Hodson on "Warwickshire Nonconformist and Quaker Meetings and Meeting Houses, 1660-1750," now the most complete statement of its kind. See pp. cv-cxix and later lists and tables for information on Friends in the county.

* * *

The early figures of Bedfordshire Quakerism and their writings are briefly treated in an illustrated article, "The Quaker Folk," by H. G. Tibbutt in the *Bedfordshire Magazine,* 4 (1954), 163-166. As is often the case their intervention for John Bunyan is not mentioned.

* * *

Mention may be made of a bibliographical work, *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800,* edited by John Eliot Alden (New York: published for the Bibliographical Society of America by R. R. Bowker Co., 1949) because of the many early Quaker pieces published in that colony and state. The list is much more complete than any earlier lists of the material. For example it lists for the first time an elegy on the death of the Quakeress Sarah, wife of Joseph Wanton of Tiverton in 1737. For Quaker items discovered too recently to be included see this BULLETIN, 43 (1954), 53.

* * *

A useful set of "self descriptions" of the smaller Christian groups in Germany is published under the editorship of Ulrich Kunz entitled *Viele Glieder — Ein Leib: Kleinere Kirchen, Freikirchen und ähnliche Gemeinschaften in Selbstdarstellungen* (Stuttgart, 1953, 367 pages). The account of the Religious Society of Friends, pp. 140-159, is by Heinz Schneider and is a well-balanced presentation.

* * *

The Ward Lecture for 1953 given at Guilford College on Founders Day was by Henry J. Cadbury and dealt chiefly historically with "A Quaker Approach to the Bible" (Guilford College, 16 pages).

* * *

The "Quaker Records" given in the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society,* 21 (1953-54), 26-28, are the wills of Richard Settle (died 1670) and of his son-in-law Robert Taylor (died 1680).

* * *

The *Kentucky Historical Society Register,* 51 (1953), 171-172, publishes a letter dated July 22, 1837, in an article by John C. Hepler entitled "John G. Whittier Hears from Henry Clay." The subject of the letter, one need hardly add, is slavery.

* * *

In the *Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine,* 17 (1954), 107-108, are transcribed by Mrs. Everett E. Spring the cemetery

inscriptions in the "Society of Friends Burying Ground, Franklin Township, Fulton County, Ohio."

* * *

Quirinus Kuhlmann was not a Friend, but an enthusiast, mystic, and Behmenist. He was associated with Friends in the public mind and was burned as a heretic and so-called Quaker at Moscow in 1689. In an article "Quirinus Kuhlmann: The Religious Apprenticeship" Robert L. Beare in *PMLA (Publications of the Modern Language Association),* 68 (1953), 828-862, deals at length with his religion and poetry in the early period up to 1675. This is the first of a series of articles on Kuhlmann.

* * *

Edwin B. Bronner contributes to *Pennsylvania History,* 21 (1954), 93-108, an article on "The Failure of the 'Holy Experiment' in Pennsylvania, 1684-1699" (illustrated). The term "failure" is a matter of definition and depends on what was the original aim. The writer succeeds in showing out of the original letters of this fifteen-year period the frustrations and tensions, personal, economic, religious, and political, that defeated the bright hopes with which the colony began. Obviously this readable summary is based on much fuller knowledge.

* * *

There is a note in the new British county magazine, *Middlesex Quarterly,* Vol. I, No. 2 (Winter, 1953), p. 10, on "Quakers at Brentford and Isleworth." The author is R. W. Harris.

* * *

To introduce to our readers the *FFT Quarterly,* or organ of the Fellowship of the Friends of Truth (edited by S. K. George, G.S. College, Wardha, M.P., India) mention may be made of an article by Howard J. Bourne, "William Edmundson (1627-1712)," I (1953-4), 171-174. The statement that Edmundson was an American and many other statements defective in fact or in English expression must be due to editing.

* * *

The drama and contemporary relevancy of William Penn's account of his and William Mead's trial at the Old Bailey in 1670 continue to be a source of surprise and interest to many who come upon the story for the first time. A privately printed pamphlet entitled *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Reasserted in the Digest of the Tryal of William Penn and William Mead* ([San Francisco], 1954, 28 pages) records the reaction of Nat Schmulowitz, a San Francisco lawyer. His comments were originally made before the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco on May 18, 1954.

A television play, *Young William Penn* by James Truex dealing with the Penn-Mead trial, was presented on the "Hallmark Hall of Fame" program on April 4, 1954. There is a mimeographed copy of the script at the Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By Lyman W. Riley
University of Pennsylvania Library

The Friend (Philadelphia)

"Quaker Testimony Regarding Oaths," by William Wistar Comfort, reviews the basis for Friends' refusal to take judicial and loyalty oaths, with particular reference to Penn's *Treatise of Oaths*.—Sept. 17, 1953, pp. 86-87.

"A Memorable Instance of Divine Guidance and Protection" relates a stirring adventure of James Dickinson and Jane Fearon while they were on a religious visit to Scotland early in the eighteenth century; it was related by them to Sarah Taylor, whose account was found among family papers belonging to Thomas Ambler.—June 24, 1954, pp. 431-434.

Friends Intelligencer

"Easton Meeting Revisited," Letter from the Past No. 141, presents some data about this New York meeting, site of a famous Quaker-Indian episode.—Jan. 16, 1954, pp. 36-37.

Elwood Cronk, in "A Quaker Faith on Trial," retells the story of Joshua Brown and Achilles Douglas, Friends who were imprisoned in South Carolina for six months during the American Revolution.—Jan. 23, 1954, pp. 48-49.

"Early Friends and the Spirit: Robert Barclay" by Calvin Keene summarizes Barclay's attempt to synthesize Quaker belief with the theology of his time.—Jan. 30, 1954, pp. 60-62.

"Cross and Crown," Letter from the Past No. 142, is a discussion of the possible derivation of the title of William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown*. —Feb. 6. 1954, pp. 78-79.

Letter from the Past No. 143, "Robin Hood and the Quakers," refers to the scorn heaped upon Joseph Sturge and two other British Friends who journeyed to Russia on a peace mission shortly before the outbreak of the Crimean War.—Feb. 27, 1954, pp. 118-119.

Albert V. Fowler writes of "Friends and the Romantics," finding that both groups rejected the idea of the intrinsic depravity of man but for different reasons and with different results.—Mar. 6, 1954, pp. 130-132.

Letter from the Past No. 144, "The Quaker in Quaker Oats," speculates on the source of the name of this well-known cereal.—Mar. 27, 1954, pp. 171-172.

"The Most Popular Quaker Book" was *Black Beauty*. Maurice A. Mook tells of its author, Anna Sewell, a Quaker, and of its influence in encouraging kind treatment for animals.—April 24, 1954, pp. 224-226.

Ralph A. Rose quotes "William Penn on Freedom of Thought" in telling excerpts that apply directly to modern times.—June 19, 1954, pp. 336-337.

"In Quest of a Quaker's Funeral," Letter from the Past No. 145, concerns a reputed painting of a Quaker funeral by Jan Steen (1626-1679), a Dutch artist.—July 10, 1954, p. 382.

The Friends' Quarterly

Henry J. Cadbury, in "The Antiquity of the Quakers," presents the evidence he has found for the various dates suggested for the beginning of the Quaker movement. He feels that no particular year can be chosen as definitive but that probably the movement was well under way, although not in full force, by 1653.—April, 1953, pp. 112-117.

E. Vipont Brown reminisces on "The Great Revolution" during his lifetime. He recalls the revolutionary discoveries and activities of, among others, Lister, William Edward Forster, and Bruce and Katharine Glasier.—April, 1953, pp. 117-123.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

"Martha Jackson's Minority" is documented by the financial accounts of two uncles, her guardians. Beatrice Saxon Snell gives a number of excerpts from these accounts, dated from 1722 to 1728, and derives from them information about Martha, her family, and her times.—45 (1953), 6-14.

"Reminiscences in Old Age, Elizabeth Fry's Memories as Recorded by Her Grand-daughter" is a transcription of part of a manuscript journal of Elizabeth (Fry) Chapman, granddaughter of Elizabeth Fry, the philanthropist. The excerpts cover part of the year 1844. Besides conveying Elizabeth Fry's recollections of earlier events the diary reveals a good bit about her during this last year of her life.—45 (1953), 15-23.

Michael Metford-Sewell edits "Reform in the West of England. Extracts from the Journal of William Metford (1803-1832)." These extracts tell in vivid language of the political excitement attending the debate on the Reform Bill of 1832. As a wine merchant William Metford has some sharp words for the temperance activity of some Friends of the time.—45 (1953), 25-39.

In "Newcastle-upon-Tyne Friends and Scientific Thought: Reminiscences" Lawrence Richardson recalls the rather unhappy period when a new understanding of the Bible and an appreciation of the place of science were with difficulty gaining recognition among Friends.—45 (1953), 40-44.

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